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### THE SEMITIC IŠTAR CULT.

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#### § 1. IŠTAR OF NINEVEH.

In classifying the great mass of material extant in the Assyrian language so as to determine what mentions of Ištar refer to the Ištar of Nineveh, what to the Ištar of Arbela, and what to the Ištar of Aššur, it is obvious that some canon of classification must be applied. Two different canons are conceivable. One would be to take some undoubted reference to the Ištar of a particular shrine, and with the characteristics of the goddess there pictured as a basis, refer to the goddess of that shrine all passages revealing like characteristics. The other would be to seek in every instance some historical guide. For example, when a king speaks of Ištar it may be considered probable that he refers to the Ištar worshipped at his capital unless he takes the pains to tell us that he refers to the Ištar of another shrine. The former of these principles is based on internal criticism, the latter on historical probability. The former assumes in advance that the characteristics of the gods are clearly defined and separate, the latter assumes that we do not know what their characteristics are or whether they overlap until the inscriptions reveal them to us. As a matter of fact the provinces of the gods in Assyria and Babylonia are not distinct. They often overlap each other. It has therefore seemed safest to assume that when any king refers to Ištar he means the Ištar of his capital city unless he otherwise states. This gives us a tangible rather than a speculative basis on which to rest, and in investigations of such antiquity such a basis should always be sought. This is the canon of classification applied in this and the following chapters.

We proceed first to collect the material referring to Ištar of Nineveh. The oldest mention which we can date is the hymn of Assurnasirpal son of Šamši-Raman, recently published by Brünnow.

## PRAYER OF ASSURNASIRPAL SON OF ŠAMŠIRAMAN (cir. 1800 B. C.)\*

*Transliterated Text.*

- 1 Ip-šit im-ḥu-ra-an-[ni....] amâti-pl ú-za-kar
- 2 a-na ba-na-at ni-mi-[ki....bi-lit ta-]na-da-a-ti
- 3 a-na a-ši-bat Ī-bar-bar ilu....u-ša-pa zik-ri
- 4 a-na šar-rat ilâni-pl ša par-ši [ilâni-pl rabûti-pl šu-ut-]lu-mu ḳa-tuš-ša
- 5 a-na bí-lit alu Nina sal....[ilâni]-pl ša-ḳu-tú
- 6 a-na binat ilu Sin ta-li-mat ilu Šam-ši ša (?) kul-lat šarru-ti ta-bí-lil
- 7 a-na pa-ri-sa-at purussi ila-at kal gim-ri
- 8 a-na bí-lit šam-i u irši-tim ma-ḥi-rat tiš-li-ti
- 9 a-na ši-ma-at iḳ-ri-bi li-ḳa-at un-ni-ni
- 10 a-na ila-tim rimi-ni-ti ša mi-ša-ra i-ra-am-mu
- 11 ilu Iš-tar mimma ša búl-lu-lu i-si-iḳ-ša
- 12 da-al-pa-a-tí mal a-tam-ma-ru maḥ-ra-ki a-bak-ka (?)
- 13 a-na at-mu-u-a šú-nu-ḥi lib-ša-a [u]-zu-un-ki
- 14 a-na zik-ri-ya šúm-ru-ši ka-bat-ta-ki lip-pa-šir
- 15 am-ri-in-ni bíltu ki-i su-uḥ-ḥu-ra-ki libba arad-ki lim-ra-aš
- 16 m ilu Aššur-naš-ir-apal ana-ku šúm-ru-šu arad-ki
- 17 šaḥ-tu pa-liḥ ilu-ti-ki pit-ḳu-du na-ram-ki
- 18 mu-kin XIV ilu ištarâti-pl-ki la mu-par-ku-u na-di-nu zi-bi-ki
- 19 ḥa-ši-iḥ i-si-na-tí-ki mu-ša-az-ni-nu parakka-ki
- 20 mu-da-ḥi-id kurun-nam bi-bíl lib-bi-ki šá ta-ra-mi.
- 21 apal m Šam-ši ilu Raman šarri pa-liḥ ilâni-pl rabûti-pl.
- 22 ab-ba-ni-ma ina ḳi-rib šad-i ša la idu-šu-nu mamman
- 23 ul ḥa-sa-ku-ma bí-lut-ki ul ú-sap-pa-a ka-a-a-an
- 24 niši-pl matu ilu Aššur-ki ul i-da-ni-ma ul im-da-ḥa-ra ilu-ut-ki
- 25 at-ti-ma ilu Iš-tar ú-šúm-gal-lat ilani-pl ra-šub-ti
- 26 i-na ni-iš ini-ki tu-di-ni-ma taḥ-šú-ḥu bil-ú-ti
- 27 tal-ḳi-ni-ma ul-tu ḳi-rib šad-i a-na sip-pi niši-pl tab-bi-in-ni
- 28 tu-ki-in-ni iṣu ḥatta iš-ri-f-ti a-na li-tab-bur da-úd-mi
- 29 at-ti-ma ilu Iš-tar tu-ša-aš-ri-ḥi zik-ri
- 30 ta-ḳi-ši-ma ki-nu-ti šú-zu-ba ga-ma-lu,
- 31 ina pi-i-ki ú-ša-a ud-du-uš ilâni-pl na-aḳ-mu-ti
- 32 išriti-pl šu-uḥ-ḥa-a-tí ú-di-ša a-na-ku
- 33 ilâni-pl šul-pu-tu-ti ab-ni a-šar-šu-nu ut-tir
- 34 iš-ḳu-u XIV ištarâti-pl ú-kin-šu-nu a-na ṣa-a-ti
- 35 ú-ší-piš-ma iṣu irša iṣu urkarini ma'alu takni-f mu-šap-ši-iḥ ilu-ti-ki
- 36 ša ina ḥuraši liḳ-ti šú-su-mí f-tal-mu ḳi-rib-ša

\* Cf. for the text, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. V., p. 79



## PRAYER OF ASSURNASIRPAL SON OF ŠAMŠIRAMAN.

*Translation.*

- 1 "The thing he received from me . . . the words I relate
- 2 To the mother of wisdom . . . [the lady of] majesty
- 3 To her who dwells at Ibarbar, the goddess [who] made me renowned,
- 4 To the queen of the gods, into whose hands are delivered the commands of  
the great gods,
- 5 To the lady of Nineveh . . . [of the gods], the exalted one,
- 6 To the daughter of Sin, the sister of Šamaš, who rules all kingdoms,
- 7 To her who determines decrees, the goddess of the universe,
- 8 To the lady of heaven and earth, who receives prayers,
- 9 To her who hears petitions, who heeds sighs,
- 10 To the merciful goddess, who loves justice,
- 11 Ištar—everything which is corrupted distresses her !
- 12 Afflictions as many as I see I bewail before thee !
- 13 To my sorrowful words may thy ears be inclined,
- 14 To my afflicted speech let thy heart be open,
- 15 Look on me, O Lady, thus may thy turning make glad thy servant's heart.
- 16 I am Assurnasirpal, thy afflicted servant,
- 17 Humble, worshipping thy divinity, provident, thy favorite,
- 18 Who set up thy fourteen goddesses, who without ceasing offers thy sacrifices,
- 19 Who desires thy shrines, who adorns thy sanctuary,
- 20 Who makes abundant the wine, the joy of thy heart, which thou lovest,
- 21 The son of Šamširaman, the king, the worshipper of the great gods.
- 22 I was begotten in the midst of mountains which no one knows.
- 23 I had no understanding, and to thy ladyship did not regularly pray,
- 24 The people of Assyria neither knew nor received thy divinity,
- 25 But thou, O Ištar, mighty princess (?) of the gods,
- 26 In the lifting up of thy eyes didst thou teach me and desired'st my lordship.
- 27 Thou didst take me from the mountains and call me to the threshold of the  
people,
- 28 Thou didst establish for me the sceptre of the shrines for ever (lit. till the  
growing old of the dwelling),
- 29 And thou, O Ištar, didst make great my name,
- 30 And thou hast given to the faithful salvation (and) reward.
- 31 It went forth from thy mouth to renew the burned gods,
- 32 The falling temples I renewed,
- 33 The overthrown gods I built up, I restored to their places;
- 34 The fourteen goddesses were exalted, I established them for ever,
- 35 I made a bed of *urkarinu*-wood, a firm divan giving rest to thy divinity,
- 36 Whose interior was surrounded with gold . . . . . adorned

- 37 ni-siḫ-ti abni-*pl* šad-i šú-ḫu-ru u-za-'a-in-ši ki-i..  
 38 ú-lil-ši a-na šu-ub-bi-í ú-mal-ši.....  
 39 ú-nam-mir-ši kima šaruri *ilu* Šam-ši a-[ši-i.. ....  
 40 ú-šar-ši-ši ina Ī-bar-bar šú-bat la-li-ši.....  
 41 [ina] mi-ni-í ú-kal-lil-ki-ma a.....  
 42 .....tu-man-ni-i-ma murša a-ta.....  
 43 .....buani-*pl* mu-ta.....  
 44 .....pi-riš-tu kit [-tu (?)].....

*Reverse.*

- 1\*.....  
 2 Ka-a-a-na-ma.....  
 3 ina ma-ḥar ilu-ti-ki.....  
 4 ki-i la pa-liḫ ilu-ti-ki ka(?) ....  
 5 ki-i la ar-ši ar-ni ḥab-[la-ti].....  
 6 gi-na-a šú-uš-ra-ku....  
 7 par-sa-ku-ma ni-'i-lu ul a-.....  
 8 ina *isu* Kussi šarru-ti-ya ú-zi-im-ma  
 9 nap-tan a-pa-ta-nu ul í-di-ḥa-a  
 10 kurun-nam ša nap-la-ḥi a-na da-da-ri  
 11 bit-nu-u rig-ma šúm-su-ka-ku si-mat,  
 12 u ḥa-da-a balâti-*pl* zu-um-ma-ku  
 13 ini-a-a bit-ru-ma-ma ul ú-šab-ba-a  
 14 ul ú-ša-ḫa-a a-na í-li-ni pa-an ḫaḫ-ka-ri  
 15 a-di ma-ti bíltu muršu la na-par-ku-u ḥal-ku si-ki-ya.  
 16 ana-ku *m ilu* Aššur-naš-ir-apal šú-ud-lu-pu pa-liḫ-ki  
 17 ša-bit ḫa-ni ilu-ti-ki mu-sa-pu-u bí-lut-ki  
 18 nap-li-si-ni-ma ênta-ki lu-sa-ap-pi  
 19 ša ti-zi-zi rimi-ni-ma ka-bat-ta-ki lip-pa-šir  
 20 ga-ma-lu lîb-ba-ki ili-ya lim-ra-aš  
 21 šú-ši-i mur-ši šúm-si-ki ḥi-ti-ti  
 22 ina pi-i-ki bíltu lim-ḫu-ta pa-ša-ḥi  
 23 iššakka mi-ig-ra-ki ša la ínu-u ka-a-a-an  
 24 ri-ši-šú ri-í-mu da-lip-ta-šú ku-ur-di  
 25 šab-ti a-bu-us-su a-na na-ra-mí-ki abi ilâni-*pl*...*ilu* Aššur  
 26 [a-na] aḥ-rat ú-mí lut-ta-'i-id [bi-lu]-ut-ki  
 27 ....lu-šar-ba-a ina..... ..šami u iršitim.  
 ikal *m ilu* Aššur-bani-apal šarri kiššati šarri *matu ilu* Aššur *ki*. etc.

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\* The first line of the reverse is illegible.



- 37 With *nišikti*-stones of the mountain, I adorned it (the statue) like....  
 38 I made it beautifully bright. I filled it.....  
 39 I made it shine like the splendor of the rising (?) sun.  
 40 I set it up (?) in Ibarbar, the dwelling of its might,  
 41 In what have I wronged thee?.....  
 42 Why (?) hast thou appointed me disease? .....  
 43 .....boils, pestilence.....  
 44 .....fleeing away of faith.....

*Reverse.*

- 2 Continually.....  
 3 Before thy divinity.....  
 4 As one who does not worship thy divinity [I am tortured]  
 5 If I have not incurred sin and evil [why am I afflicted?]  
 6 In (my) foundations, I am unloosed.....  
 7 I am broken in pieces, rest (?) I [do not find (?)],  
 8 On the throne of my kingdom I fasted,  
 9 To the meal I had prepared I did not come near,  
 10 The wine of the temple-service into gall  
 11 Is changed, I am confused in (my) word, of the beauty  
 12 And joy of life I am deprived.  
 13 My eyes are sealed, I cannot see;  
 14 I do not lift them up above the face of the earth.  
 15 How long, O lady, shall the disease without cessation destroy my members?  
 16 I, Assurnasirpal, sorely afflicted, thy worshipper,  
 17 Who seizes the staff of thy divinity, who prays to thy ladyship,  
 18 Be favorable to me, to thy mightiness let me pray,  
 19 Because thou art strong pity me, let thy heart be open!  
 20 Do good, let thy heart be grieved over me!  
 21 Cause (my) sickness to go out, restrain (my) sin!  
 22 From thy mouth, O lady, let my tranquility fall!  
 23 The priest-king, thy favorite who never changes,  
 24 Grant him mercy and strengthen his weakness,  
 25 Intercede for him with thy beloved, the father of the gods.... Aššur!  
 26 Unto future days let me exalt thy ladyship (?)  
 27 ...let me magnify .....heaven and earth."

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This is the oldest memorial we have of the Ištar of Nineveh. It professes to come from cir. 1800 B. C. The copy which we have comes from the library of Assurbanipal, and yet there is about the whole tablet an archaic style and coloring which points to a much higher antiquity for its origin. The occurrence of

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN ASSURNASIRPAL, 885-860 B. C.

- 1 (Cf. I R. 18. 1 (37) sq.) I-na bi-ib-lat lib-bi-ya u tîr-ši ҡati-ya *ilu* Ištar bîlit ramat šangu-ti-a lu-tam-gu-ra-ni-ma í-piš ҡabli u taḥazi libba-ša ub-la-ma.

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- 2 (I R. 18. 70) Ina ҡi-bit *ilu* Aššur *ilu* Ištar ilâni-*pl* rabûti-*pl* bîli-*pl*-a ištu *alu* Ni-nu-a a-tu-muš.

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- 3 (I R. 25. 91) A-na *matu* Is-mî-iḥ-ri-*pl* a-lik. *Matu* Is-mî-iḥ-ri-*pl* ana si-hir-ti-ša ak-šud, *isu* gušûri-*pl* ša Is-mî-iḥ-ri-*pl* a-ki-si a-na *alu* Ni-nu-a ub-la a-na *ilu* Ištar bi-lat *alu* Ni-nu-a ṭabti-ya aḳiṣ (?).

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MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN SHALMANESER II., 860-825 B. C.

- 1 (Obelisk Ins. l. 13 sq.) *Ilu* Ištar riš-ti šami-í u irši-tí ša pa-an ҡar-du-tí šuk-lu-lat [ilâni]-*pl* rabûti-*pl* mu-ši-mu šimati-*pl* mu-šar-bu-ú šarru-ti-ya.

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- 2 (III R. 7. 3) *Ilu* Ištar bi-lat ҡabli u taḥazi.

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MENTIONS IN ŠAMŠI-RAMAN, 825-812 B. C.

- 1 (I R. 30. 13) Ina ҡi-bit *ilu* Aššur *ilu* Šamaš *ilu* Raman *ilu* Ištar ilâni-*pl* tik-li-a kima kil-liḥ-tú (?) a-na šipi-*pl*-a ik-nu-šu.

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MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN SARGON, 722-705 B. C.

(This passage is found in Winckler's *Keilschrifttexte Sargons* II. p. 29 pl. 62 l. 5 sq., also in the Sargon cylinder l. 69 pub. by Winckler op. cit. p. 43, and in Lyon's *Sargontexte*, p. 17. l. 86, 87.)

- 1 *Ilu* A-nu mu-šal-lim ip-šit ҡa-ti-ya *ilu* Iš-tar mu-šam-mí-ḥat, niši-*pl*-šu ni-bit abulli *ilu* A-num ù *ilu* Iš-tar ša ši-id aḥâri aš-ḳun.



*šarru* for king along with *patisi*, or as it is now read *iššakku* is so far as we know an anachronism in Assyria at 1800 B. C., and points to an editing of our hymn at a later date. Notwithstanding this the statements of the hymn must have been based on an older tradition, and for our purposes may be regarded as historical.

After this hymn we have no certain reference to the Ištar of Nineveh for nearly a thousand years. There are references to Ištar in a letter of Tushratta king of Metanni to Amenophis III. king of Egypt,\* but we have no evidence that the Ištar of the shrine at Nineveh was in the writer's mind. The probabilities are that she was not.

Aššur-riš-iši, king of Assyria cir. 1150 B. C.† possibly refers to her in a wish expressed in a votive offering that Ištar may hear prayers, but it is not clear whether the Ištar in question is the Ištar of Nineveh or of Aššur. In either case the reference adds nothing to our knowledge of Ištar.

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MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN ASSURNAŠIRPAL, 885-860 B. C.

- 1 "In the wish of my heart and the placing of my hand, Ištar, the lady who loves my priesthood favored me, and brought her heart to the accomplishment of battle and war."
- 2 "At the command of Aššur and Ištar, the great gods, my lords, I marched from Nineveh."
- 3 "Unto Ismikhri I went. Ismikhri to its farthest limits I conquered. Beams of Ismikhri I cut, unto Nineveh I brought, unto Ištar, lady of Nineveh my patroness I presented (?)."

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MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN SHALMANESER II., 860-825 B. C.

- 1 "Ištar, the first born of heaven and earth who is perfect in bravery, who establishes the fates (and) enlarges my kingdom."
- 2 "Ištar the queen of fight and battle."

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MENTIONS IN ŠAMAŠI-RAMAN, 825-812 B. C.

- 1 "At the command of Aššur, Šamaš, Raman, Ištar, the gods my helpers, like . . . they submitted to my feet."

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MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN SARGON, 722-705 B. C.

- 1 "For Anu who completes the work of my hand, and for Ištar who makes its people thrive I named the gates of Anu and Ištar on the west side."

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\* Cf. *PSBA.*, Vol. X. p. 560sq.

† Cf. III R. 3, No. 6.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN SENNACHERIB, 705-681 B. C.

- 1 (I R. 41, 50) A-na-ku a-na *ilu* Aššur *ilu* Sin *ilu* Šamaš *ilu* Bil *ilu* Nabu *ilu* Nergal <sup>51</sup>*ilu* Ištar ša Nina *ki ilu* Ištar ša *alu* Arba-ili ilâni-*pl* ti-ik-li-ya <sup>52</sup> a-na ka-ša-di *amilu* nakri dan-ni am-ḥur-šu-nu-ti-ma.

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- 2 (Smith's *Sennacherib*, p. 140)—Nina-*ki* ma-ḥa-zu ši-i-ru *alu* na-ram *ilu* Iš-tar.

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- 3 (Smith, op. cit. pp. 143, 144). Ikal maḥ-ri-tu ša IIIC LX ina ammat šaḳi i-na tar-ši za-mi-i *bitu* zig-gur-rat LXXX ina ammat rapašti i-na tar-ši bitu na-ma-ri bit *ilu* Ištar.

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- 4 IIC LXVIII ina suk-lum rabu-ti šaḳ-ḳi ḳabli-tim mi-iḥ-rit za-mi-i ad-man-ni ku-tal *ilu* Iš-tar IIIC LXXXIII ina suk-lum rabu-ti šaḳ-ḳi ḳab-li-tum ša-ni-tum mu-šat-ti ša-a-ri a-ḥar-ri ku-tal *bitu* zig-gu-rat bit *ilu* Iš-tar.

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- 5 (Smith, op. cit., p. 155 sq.) ša *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Iš-tar a-na ri-i-um-tu mati u niši-*pl* i-nam-bu-ú.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN ESARHADDON, 681-668 B. C.

- 1 (I R. 45) <sup>1</sup>[Aššur-aḫi-iddi-na.....<sup>4</sup>ša ina tukulti *ilu* Aššur] *ilu* Sin *ilu* Šamaš <sup>5</sup>*ilu* Nabu *ilu* Marduk *ilu* Ištar ša Nina-*ki* <sup>6</sup>*ilu* Ištar ša Arba-ili-*ki* ilâni-*pl* rabûti-*pl* bilî-*pl*-šu <sup>7</sup>ul-tu ši-it *ilu* Šam-ši a-di i-rib *ilu* Šam-ši <sup>8</sup>it-tal-lak-ú-ma ma-ḫi-ra la i-šu-u.

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- 2 Cf. I R. 46. 38 (Col. IV.), III R. 15. 4 (Col. I.), III R. 15. 5 (Col. II.).

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- 3 (I R. 47. Col. VI. 27 sq.) <sup>27</sup>*ilu* Aššur *ilu* Ištar ša Nina-*ki* ilâni-*pl* *matu* Aššur-*ki* <sup>28</sup>kali-šu-nu ina kir-bi-ša aḳ-ri-ma <sup>29</sup>kirru niḳi-*pl* taš-ri-iḫ-ti ib-bu-ti <sup>30</sup>ma-ḥar-šu-un aḳ-ḳi-ma <sup>31</sup>ú-šam-ḫi-ra kad-ra-a-a <sup>32</sup>ilâni-*pl* ša-tu-nu ina ku-un lib-bi-šu-nu <sup>33</sup>ik-tar-ra-bu šarru-u-ti <sup>34</sup>*amilu* rabûti-*pl* u niši-*pl* mati-ya ka-li-šu-nu <sup>35</sup>ina ta-kul-ti u ki-ri-i-ti <sup>36</sup>ina *isu* pašûri ta-ši-la-a-ti <sup>37</sup>ki-rib-ša ú-ši-šib-ma.

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- 4 (III R. 16, Col. VI. 14) <sup>14</sup>ša *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Iš-tar <sup>15</sup>a-na bí-lut mati u niši-*pl* i-nam-bu-u zi-kir-šu.

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- 5 (III R. 16, Col. VI. 22) *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Iš-tar ik-ri-bi-ka i-šim-mu.

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- 6 (III R. 15. 22) *ilu* Iš-tar bí-lit ḳabli taḫazi ra-'i-i-mat ša-an-gu-ti-ya <sup>23</sup>i-da-a ta-zi-iz-ma *isu* ḳašat-su-nu taš-bir, etc.



MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN SENNACHERIB, 705-681 B. C.

- 1 "I prayed unto Aššur, Sin, Šamaš, Bīl, Nabu, Nergal, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, the gods whom I trust, for the capture of my mighty foes."
- 

- 2 "Nineveh the great fortress, the city beloved of Ištar."
- 

- 3 "The former palace, which was 360 cubits long on the side of the enclosure of the tower, 80 cubits in breadth on the side of the brilliant temple, the temple of Ištar."

In Cylinder B. there is a variant to lines 50 and 51 of the inscription last quoted. Sennacherib is describing some land he reclaimed from the river Tibilti, and says:

- 4 "268 great cubits in length on the side before the temple the dwelling the *kutal* of Ištar, 383 great cubits in height in the second middle beginning (?) at the west of the tower of Ištar."
- 

- 5 "Whom Aššur and Ištar for the government of the country and people shall name."
- 

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN ESARHADDON, 681-668 B. C.

- 1 "I am Esarhaddon.....who by the power of Aššur, Sin, Šamaš, Nabu, Marduk, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, the great gods my lords from the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun marched without rival."
- 

- 2 The point to be noted here is that Ištar of Nineveh is a goddess in Esarhaddon's pantheon. The same is true of the other references to that pantheon.
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- 3 "Aššur (and) Ištar of Nineveh, the gods of Assyria, all of them into it (the palace) I invited; large pure sacrifices I offered before them, I presented my present. These gods in the faithfulness of their hearts drew near unto my royalty. The princes and people of my country all of them at the banquet and feast at the festive table in its midst I caused to sit," etc. A feast is then described.
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- 4 "Whose name Aššur and Ištar for the sovereignty of the country and peoples shall name."
- 

- 5 "Aššur and Ištar shall hear thy prayer."
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- 6 "Ištar lady of onslaught and battle who loves my priesthood stood at my side and broke their bows."

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN ASSURBANIPAL, 668-626 B. C.

- 1 (V R. 1. 13 sq.) Ina í-piš pi-i mut-tal-li ša *ilu* Aššur *ilu* Bilit *ilu* Sin *ilu* Šamaš *ilu* Raman *ilu* Bil *ilu* Nabu *ilu* Ištar ša Nina-ki *ilu* Šar-rat kid-mu-ri *ilu* Ištar ša *alu* Arba-ili-ki *ilu* Adar *ilu* Nergal *ilu* Nusku ik-bu-ú ú-paḥ-ḥir niši-pl *matu* Aššur-ki.

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- 2 Cf. also for the same pantheon V R. 1. 41 sq., V R. 2. 127 sq., V R. 3. 12 sq., V R. 3. 27 sq., V R. 4. 46 sq., V R. 6. 126 sq., V R. 8. 19 sq., V R. 8. 52 sq., V R. 8. 73 sq., V R. 9. 61 sq., V R. 9. 97 sq., V R. 10. 33 sq., V R. 10. 60 sq., V R. 10. 118 sq. and Smith's *Assurbanipal*, pp. 95, 96.
- 3 (V R. 2. 107) *ilu* Aššur *ilu* Ištar ilâni-pl bili-pl-ya.
- 4 Cf. V R. 1. 56, V R. 4. 119, V R. 6. 71, V R. 7. 75, V R. 8. 17, V R. 8. 30. V R. 9. 6, V R. 9. 20, Smith's op. cit., p. 135.
- 5 V R. 1. 84) Nam-ri-ri *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar is-ḥu-pu-šu-ma.
- 6 (V R. 2. 38.) Ina tukul-ti *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar ik-šu-du ḳata-a-a kspa ḥuraša.
- 7 (V R. 3. 50.) Ul-tú *isu* Kakki-pl *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar ili *matu* Ilamti-ki ú-šam-ri-ru.
- 8 (V R. 5. 123.) Ina a-mat *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar ša ú-ma-'i-f-ru-in-ni.
- 9 (V R. 5. 29) *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar ša ida-a-a il-li-ku.
- 10 (V R. 4. 9.) Ina su-up-pi-i ša *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar ú-sap-pu-u <sup>10</sup>un-nin-ni-ya il-ḳu-u iš-mu-u zi-kir šapti-ya.
- 11 (V R. 5. 130.) Ina a-mat *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar ki-rib ikallati-šu í-ru-ub.
- 12 (V R. 6. 56.) Ša ina ḳi-bit *ilu* Aššur u *ilu* Ištar í-pu-šu ardu-u-ti.
- 13 Cf. V R. 1. 39, V R. 2. 116, V R. 4. 21 and 33, V R. 5. 63 and 90 and 126, V R. 7. 10 and 13, and 53 and 70 and 104 and 107, V R. 9. 112 and 90, V R. 10. 7 and 19 and 22 and 109 and III R. 16, No. 4.
- 14 (V R. 10. 51 sq.) Nina-ki <sup>52</sup>alu ši-i-ru na-ram *ilu* Bilit (Variant Iš-tar.)

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- 15 V R. 9. 87) *ilu* Bilit ḳa-rit-tú.

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- 16 (V R. 9. 75) *ilu* Bilit ri-im-tú *ilu* Bil.

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- 17 (V R. 10. 24) ul-tu a-na na-dan (?) *kirru* niḳâni-pl í-lu-u <sup>25</sup>ina Ī-bar-bar šu-bat bilu-ti-šu-un <sup>26</sup>ma-ḥar *ilu* Bilit ummi ilâni-pl rabûti pl <sup>27</sup>ḥi-ir-tu na-ram-ti *ilu* Aššur <sup>28</sup>í-pu-šu.
- 18 (I R. 7. AL.<sup>3</sup> 121) <sup>1</sup>A-na-ku *m* *ilu* Aššur-bani-apli šarri kiššati šarri *matu* *ilu* Aššur-ki ša *ilu* Aššur *ilu* Bilit í-mu-ḳi ši-ra-a-ti <sup>2</sup>u-šat-li-mu-uš niši-pl ša ad-du-ku *isu* mid-pa-a-nu iz-zi-tú ša *ilu* Ištar bí-lit taḥazi <sup>3</sup>ili-šu-un az-ḳu-up muḥ-ḥu-ru í-li-šu-nu ú-ma-ḥir karânu aḳ-ḳa-a í-li-šu-un.



MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF NINEVEH IN ASSURBANIPAL, 668-626 B. C.

- 1 "To execute the exalted command which Aššur, Bilit, Sin, Šamaš, Raman, Bil, Nabu, Ištar of Nineveh, the Queen of Kid-muri, Ištar of Arbela, Adar, Nergal (and) Nusku commanded, he assembled the people of Assyria," etc.
- 

The point of the foregoing quotation, as that of the numerous references under No. 2, is that Ištar of Nineveh was a goddess of Assurbanipal's pantheon.

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- 3 "Aššur and Ištar the gods my lords."

In the foregoing and in all the references under No. 4, Aššur and Ištar are classified together as "the great gods my lords."

- 5 "The brilliance of Aššur and Ištar overthrew him."

- 6 "By the might of Aššur and Ištar my hand captured silver and gold."

- 7 "After I had caused the weapons of Aššur and Ištar to march over Elam."

- 8 "At the command of Aššur and Ištar who sent me."

- 9 "Aššur and Ištar who march at my side."

- 10 "In my prayers which I offered to Aššur and Ištar, my sighs they received, they heard the speaking of my lips."

- 11 "At the command of Aššur and Ištar I entered into his palaces."

- 12 "Who at the command of Aššur and Ištar became a servant" (lit. did service).
- 

From these quotations and the references given under No. 13, it will be seen that the weapons, the government and the power of Assyria were ascribed to Aššur and Ištar, and all successes small and great were considered their gift.

- 14 "Nineveh, the lofty city beloved of Bilit (variant, Ištar)."

Hence Bilit is a synonym for, or title of Ištar, and we refer the following to her:

- 15 "Bilit the warrioress."

- 16 "Bilit the beloved of Bil."

Who Bil is, a succeeding chapter will reveal.

- 17 "Afterwards I arranged to offer pure sacrifices in I-bar-bar, the dwelling of their lordship, before Bilit, the mother of the great gods, the favorite spouse of Aššur."

- 18 "I am Assurbanipal, king of hosts, king of Assyria whom Aššur and Bilit made complete in lofty power. Over the lions which I killed, I lifted up the bow, the might of Ištar queen of battle. I offered over them a prayer. I poured wine over them."

- 19 (II R. 66. Sm. *Assurbanipal*, p. 303) <sup>1</sup>A-na Bilit bilit matâti a-ši-bat  
 Ī-bar-bar *m ilu* Aššur-bani-apli šarri *matu ilu* Aššur-ki rubu pa-liḫ-  
 ša <sup>2</sup>šakkânâku bin-ut ḫati-ša, etc.....<sup>6</sup>ina ū-mi-šu kisal bit  
*ilu* Ištar bilit-ya ina pi-í li-iš-ki <sup>7</sup>ši-kit-ta-šu ú-rab-bi a-na šat-ti *ilu*  
 Bilit. kisal šu-a-tú pan ma-ḫir-ši <sup>8</sup>uk-ki. ya-a-ti *m ilu* Aššur-bani-  
 apli pa-liḫ ilu-ú-ti-ki rabi-ti ba-laṭ u-mi araki-*pl* ṭaba lib-bi itti rig-  
 ma ittaliku Ī-bar-bar lu-lab-bi-ra šipi-ya.

## IŠTAR'S DESCENT.

(IV R. 31, Lenormant's *Choix Textes*, No. 30, AL<sup>3</sup> p. 110 and Lyon's *Manual*, p. 63).

- 1 A-na mati la târat ḫaḫ-ka-ri i-ṭi-[i]
- 2 *ilu* Ištar binat *ilu* Sin ú-zu-un-ša iš-kun
- 3 iš-kun-ma binat *ilu* Sin ú-zu-un-[ša]
- 4 a-na bit í-ṭi-í šu-bat *ilu* Ir-kal-la
- 5 a-na biti ša í-ri-bu-šu la a-ṣu-u
- 6 a-na ḫar-ra-ni ša a-lak-ta-ša la ta-a-a-rat
- 7 a-na biti ša í-ri-bu-šu zu-mu-mu-ú nu-ú-ra
- 8 a-šar iprâti bu-bu-us-su-nu a-kal-šu-nu ṭi-iṭ-ṭu
- 9 nu-ú-ru ul im-ma-ru ina í-ṭi-ti aš-ba
- 10 lab-šu-ma kima iš-ṣu-ri ṣu-bat káp-pi.
- 11 ili *išu* dalti u *išu* sikkuri ša-pu-uḫ ip-ru
- 12 *ilu* Ištar a-na bab mati la târat ina ka-ša-di-ša
- 13 a-na *amilu* ḫipi ba-a-bi a-ma-tum iz-zak-kar
- 14 *amilu* ḫipi mî-í pi-ta-a ba-ab-ka
- 15 pi-ta-a ba-ab-ka-ma lu-ru-ba a-na-ku
- 16 šum-ma la ta-pat-ta-a ba-a-bu la ir-ru-ba a-na-ku
- 17 a-maḫ-ḫa-aš dal-tum sik-ku-ru a-šab-bir
- 18 a-maḫ-ḫa-aš si-ip-pu-ma u-šu-pal-kat *išu* dalâti-*pl*
- 19 u-ši-il-la-a mi-tu-ti akilûti-*pl* bal-ṭu-ti
- 20 ili bal-ṭu-ti i-ma-'a-du mi-tu-ti
- 21 *amilu* ḫipu pa-a-šu i-pu-uš-ma i-ḫab-bi
- 22 iz-zak-ka-ra a-na rabi-ti *ilu* Ištar
- 23 i-zi-zi bi-il-ti la ta-na-ša-aš-ši
- 24 lu-ul-lik šum-ki lu-ša-an-ni a-na šar-ra-ti *ilu* Allati
- 25 i-ru-um-ma *amilu* ḫipu iz-za-kar-[ra].....
- 26 an-ni-tu mî-í a-ḫa-ta-ki *ilu* Iš-tar.....



- 19 "To Bilit, lady of countries who dwells at Ibarbar, Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, the prince, her worshipper, the mighty man, the creature of her hand, etc. . . . . At that time an altar (?) of the house of Ištar my lady of *pi-i* stone I set up. Its work I elaborated for the pleasure (?) of Bilit. That altar (?) before her I placed. (To) me Assurbanipal, the worshipper of thy great divinity give a life of long days (and) goodness of heart. With a cry walking to and from Ibarbar may my feet grow old."

In confirmation of the identification of Ištar and Bilit made above it will be noticed that the two names are used interchangeably here in reference to one and the same goddess.

#### IŠTAR'S DESCENT.\*

- 1 "Unto the country without return, the land of darkness
- 2 Ištar, daughter of Sin, set her ear.
- 3 The daughter of Sin set her ear
- 4 Unto the house of darkness, the dwelling of Irkalla,
- 5 Unto the house whose entrance has no exit,
- 6 Along the way whose going has no return,
- 7 Unto the house whose entrance is bereft of light,
- 8 Where dust is their food, their sustenance clay,
- 9 Light they do not see, in darkness they dwell,
- 10 They are clothed like birds (with) a garment of wings,
- 11 Over door and bolt the dust is spread.
- 12 Ištar, when she approached the gate of the land without return ;
- 13 To the keeper of the gate addresses a word :
- 14 'Keeper of the waters open thy gate,
- 15 Open thy gate—I will enter !
- 16 If thou dost not open thy gate (so that) I can enter,
- 17 I will shatter the door, I will break the bolt,
- 18 I will break the threshold and shiver the doors ;
- 19 I will raise up the dead to eat and live,
- 20 The dead will outnumber the living.'
- 21 The keeper opened his mouth and speaks,
- 22 He says to the princess Ištar :
- 23 'Stay, O lady, do not remove it (the door),
- 24 I will go (and) announce thy name to the queen Allat.'
- 25 The keeper entered and announces (to Allat)
- 26 'This water thy sister Ištar [has crossed]

\* I refer this poem to the Ištar of Nineveh, as she is the only Ištar of whom it is said that she is the daughter of Sin and the sister of Šamaš. As the colophon of the tablet gives no hint of the place of composition, that point has to be decided on the evidence of the mythology.

- 27 mid \*-gil-tu ša kip-pi-i rabûti-*pl* da.....  
 28 *ilu* Allatu an-ni-ta i-[na ši-mi-ša]  
 29 ki-ma ni-kis *isu* tap-pu i-ru.....  
 30 ki-ma ša-baṭ ku-ni-ni iz-li.....  
 31 mi-na-a lib-ba-ša ub-la-a-ni mi-na-a kab.....  
 32 an-ni-tu mî-î a-na-ku it-ti.....  
 33 ki-ma riḥši-*pl* mili-im ki-ma šikari (?) -*pl*. mili ma'di.....  
 34 lu-ub-ki a-na itli-*pl* ša i-zi-bu *sal* ḥi-[ra-ti-šu-un]  
 35 lu-ub-ki a-na *šal* ardâti-*pl* ša ištu šun *amilu* ḥa-i-ri-ši-[na].  
 36 a-na *amilu* sihrûti la-ki-i lu-ub-ki ša ina la umi-*pl*-šu tar.....  
 37 a-lik *amilu* ḳipu pi-ta-aš-ši ba-ab-[ka]  
 38 up-pi-is-si-ma ki-ma parši-*pl* la-bi-ru-[ti]  
 39 il-lik *amilu* ḳipu ip-ta-aš-ša ba-ab-[šu]  
 40 ir-bi bî-îl-ti Kutu-*ki* li-riš-[ma].  
 41 ikal mati la târat li-ih-du ina pa-ni-ka  
 42 išt-in baba u-ši-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ši it-ta-bal aga raba-a ša ḳaḳḳadi-ša,  
 43 am-mî-ni *amilu* ḳipu ta-at-bal aga raba-a ša ḳaḳḳadi-ya.  
 44 ir-bi bî-îl-ti ša *ilu* Allatu ki-a-am parši-*pl*-ša.  
 45 šana-a baba u-ši-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ši it-ta-bal in-ša-ba-ti ša uz-ni-ša.  
 46 am-mî-ni *amilu* ḳipu ta-at-bal in-ša-ba-ti ša uz-ni-ya.  
 47 ir-bi bî-îl-ti ša *ilu* Allatu ḳi-a-am parši-*pl*-ša  
 48 šal-šu baba u-ši-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ši it-ta-bal *abnu* niri-*pl* ša kišadi-ša,  
 49 am-mî-ni *amilu* ḳipu ta-at-bal *abnu* niri-*pl* ša kišadi-ya.  
 50 ir-bi bî-îl-ti ša *ilu* Allatu ki-a-am parši-*pl*-ša  
 51 rib-u baba u-ši-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ši it-ta-bal du-di-na-ti ša irti-ša  
 52 am-mî-ni *amilu* ḳipu ta-at-bal du-di-na-ti ša irti-ya.  
 53 ir-bi bî-îl-ti ša *ilu* Allatu ḳi-a-am parši-*pl*-ša  
 54 ḥaš-šu baba u-ši-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ši it-ta-bal šib-bu *abnu* yaraḥu ša ḳabli-  
*pl*-ša.  
 55 am-mî-ni *amilu* ḳipu ta-at-bal šib-bu ša *abnu* yaraḥu ša ḳabli-*pl*-ya.  
 56 ir-bi bî-îl-ti ša *ilu* Allatu ki-a-am parši-*pl*-ša.  
 57 šitti-šu baba u-ši-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ši it-ta-bal šimiri-*pl* ḳati-ša u šipi-ša,  
 58 am-mî-ni *amilu* ḳipu ta-at-bal šimiri-*pl* ḳati-ya u šipi-ya  
 59 ir-bi bî-îl-ti ša *ilu* Allatu ki-a-am parši-*pl*-ša  
 60 sib-u baba u-ši-rib-ši-ma um-ta-ši it-ta-bal šu-bat šapil-ti ša zu-um-ri-ša.

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\* According to Jeremias.



- 27 As a visitor (?) of the great fountains (?).....'
- 28 When Allat heard this,
- 29 Like the cutting of a *tap-pu* tree, she.....
- 30 Like the destruction of the *kurinni* reed.....
- 31 'What has her heart brought to me? What.....
- 32 These waters I with.....
- 33 Like the overflowings of a flood, like the rushing waters of a great flood....
- 34 I will weep for men who have left their wives,
- 35 I will weep for the handmaids taken from the bosom of their husbands.
- 36 For the little children I will weep who out of their time.....
- 37 Go, keeper, open thy gate to her,
- 38 Do to her according to the ancient commands.'
- 39 The keeper went and opened to her his door:
- 40 'Enter, O lady, may *Kutu* (i. e. the underworld) rejoice,
- 41 May the palace of the land without return be glad in thy presence,'
- 42 He made her enter the first gate and approached (?) (her and) took away the  
great crown of her head.
- 43 'Why, O, Keeper, dost thou take away the great crown of my head?'
- 44 'Enter, O lady, because Allat—such are her commands.'
- 45 The second gate he made her enter and approached (?) (her and) took away  
the ornaments of her ears.
- 46 'Why, O keeper, dost thou take away the ornaments of my ears?'
- 47 'Enter, O lady, for Allat—such are her commands.'
- 48 The third gate he made her enter and approached (?) (her and) took away the  
necklace of her neck.
- 49 'Why, O keeper, dost thou take away the necklace of my neck?'
- 50 'Enter, O lady, for Allat—such are her commands.'
- 51 The fourth gate he made her enter and approached (?) (her and) took away  
the clothing of her breast.
- 52 'Why, O keeper, dost thou take away the clothing of my breast?'
- 53 'Enter, O lady, for Allat—such are her commands.'
- 54 The fifth gate he made her enter and approached her (?) (and) took away the  
gemmed girdle from her waist.
- 55 'Why, O keeper dost thou take away the gemmed girdle of my waist?'
- 56 'Enter, O lady, for Allat—such are her commands.'
- 57 The sixth gate he made her enter and approached (?) (her and) took away the  
bracelets of her hands and feet.
- 58 'Why, O keeper, dost thou take away the bracelets of my hands and feet?'
- 59 'Enter, O lady, for Allat—such are her commands.'
- 60 The seventh gate he made her enter and approached (?) (her and) took away  
the cincture of her loins.

- 61 am-mí-ni *amílu* kipu ta-at-bal ŝu-bat ŝapil-ti ŝa zu-um-ri-ya.  
 62 ir-bi bí-íl-ti ŝa Allatu ki-a-am parši-*pl*-ŝa.  
 63 iš-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma *ílu* Iš-tar a-na mati la târat u-ri-du  
 64 *ílu* Allatu i-mur-ŝi-ma ina pa-ni-ŝa ir-'u-ub  
 65 *ílu* Ištar ul im-ma-lik í-li-nu-uš-ŝa uš-bi  
 66 *ílu* Allatu pa-a-ŝu i-pu-uš-ma i-ḫab-bi  
 67 a-na *ílu* Nam-tar ŝukalli-ŝa a-ma-tum iz-zak-kar,  
 68 a-lik *ílu* Nam-tar.....ya-ma  
 69 ŝu-ŝa-aš-ŝi ana ŝu-lim.....*ílu* Ištar  
 70 muruŝ ina.....ŝa  
 71 muruŝ a-ḫi.....ŝa  
 72 muruŝ ŝipi a.....ŝa  
 73 muruŝ lib-bi a.....,  
 74 muruŝ ḫaḫkadi ḫal.....  
 75 a-na ŝa-a-ŝa gab-bi-ŝa-ma a-na.....  
 76 ar-ki *ílu* Iš-tar bí-íl-ti.....  
 77 a-na pur-ti alpu ul i-ŝaḫ-ḫi-[it atana imíru ul u-ŝa-ra]  
 78 ar-da-tum [ina ŝuḫi ul u-ŝa-ra it-lu]  
 79 it-til it-[lu i-na ṭi-(mi)-ŝu]... ..  
 80 [it-til ar-da-tum i-na a-ḫi.....ŝa

*Reverse.*

- 1 *ílu* Pap-sukkal ilâni-*pl* rabûti-*pl* gu-ud-du-ud ap-pa-ŝu pa-nu....  
 2 kar-ru la-biŝ ma-li-í na.....  
 3 il-lik *ílu* Šamaš i-na pa-an *ílu* Sin abi-ŝu i.....  
 4 i-na pa-an *ílu* Ea ŝarri il-la-ka di-ma-a... ..  
 5 *ílu* Iš-tar a-na irši-tim u-rid ul i-la-a  
 6 ul-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma *ílu* Iš-tar a-na mati la târat u-ri-du  
 7 a-na pur-ti alpu ul i-ŝiḫ-ḫi-it imíru atana ul u-ŝa-ra  
 8 ar-da-tum ina ŝuḫi ul u-ŝa-ra [it-]lu,  
 9 it-til it-lu i-na ṭi-[mi]-ŝu,  
 10 it-til ar-da-tum i-na a-ḫi.....ŝa  
 11 *ílu* Ea ina im-ḫi lib-bi-ŝu ib-ta-ni [zik]-ru  
 12 ib-ni-ma *m* Ud-du-ŝu-na-mir *amílu* as-sin-nu  
 13 al-ka *m* Ud-du-ŝu-na-mir i-na bab mati la târat ŝu-kun pa-ni-ka  
 14 siba babâni mati la târat lip-pi-[ti] i-na pa-ni-ka,  
 15 *ílu* Allatu li-mur-ka-ma i-na pa-ni-ka li-iḫ-du,  
 16 ul-tu lib-ba-ŝa i-nu-uḫ-ḫu kab-[ta]-as-sa ip-pi-rid-du-u,  
 17 tum-mí-ŝi-ma ŝum ilâni-*pl* rabûti-*pl*.



- 61 'Why, O keeper, dost thou take away the cincture of my loins?'
- 62 'Enter, O lady, for Allat—such are her commands.'
- 63 As soon as Ištar had descended to the land without return,
- 64 Allat saw her and became enraged,
- 65 Ištar was not wise, she let loose upon her—
- 66 Allat opened her mouth and spoke,
- 67 To Namtar, her messenger she addressed a word:
- 68 'Go Namtar . . . . .my . . . . .and
- 69 Bring her forth for seizing\*. . . . .Ištar,
- 70 With disease of the eyes. . . . .[smite] her,
- 71 With disease of the side. . . . .[smite] her,
- 72 With disease of the feet. . . . .[smite] her,
- 73 With disease of the heart [smite her]. . . . .
- 74 With disease of the head [smite her]. . . . .
- 75 Upon her whole person [put disease]. . . . .
- 76 After Ištar the lady [had descended to Hades]
- 77 With the cow the bull would not unite, nor the ass approach the she-ass,
- 78 A maid on the street did not approach a gentleman,
- 79 The gentleman slept at his command. . . . .
- 80 The maid slept at the side of her. . . . .

*Reverse.*

- 1 Pap-sukal, the messenger of the great gods bowed his face before (Šamaš)
- 2 Clad in mourning filled with. . . . .
- 3 Šamaš went before Sin his father. . . . .
- 4 Before Ea, the king, his tears flowed.
- 5 'Ištar went down into the earth and has not come up,
- 6 From the time when Ištar descended to the land without return,
- 7 With the cow the bull has not united, nor the ass approached the she-ass,
- 8 The maid does not approach the gentleman in the street,
- 9 The gentleman falls asleep at his command,
- 10 The maid falls asleep at the side of her. . . . .
- 11 Ea in the wisdom of his heart created a man,
- 12 He created Uddušanamir, the servant of the gods.
- 13 'Go Uddušanamir, toward the land without return set thy face,
- 14 Let the seven gates of the land without return be opened before thy face,
- 15 Let Allat see thee and rejoice in thy presence,
- 16 After her heart is at rest and her wrath appeased,
- 17 Conjure her also by the name of the great gods,

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\* V R. 47. 46 has šu-lim = i-kim-mu.

- 18 šu-ki kaḳḳadi-*pl*-ka a-na su-ḫal zi-ki uz-na šu-kun,  
 19 í bî-îl-ti su-ḫal zi-ku lid-nu-ni mî-*pl* ina lib-bi lu-ul-ta-ti,  
 20 *ilu* Allatu an-ni-ta ina šî-mî-ša,  
 21 tam-ḡa-aš šuna-ša taš-šu-ka u-ba-an-ša,  
 22 tí-tir-ša-an-ni í-riš-tum la í-ri-ši,  
 23 al-ka *m* Ud-du-šu-na-mir lu-zir-ka iṣ-ra raba-a,  
 24 riḡši-*pl* *isu* narṡâbi-*pl* ali a-kal-ka,  
 25 *karpanu* ḡa-ba-na-at ali ma-al-ti-it-ka  
 26 *isu* šil duri lu-u man-za-zu-ka  
 27 as-kup-pa-tu lu mu-ša-bu-ú-ka  
 28 sak-ru u za-mu-u lim-ḡa-šu li-it-ka'  
 29 *ilu* Allatu pa-a-ša i-pu-uš-ma i-ḡab-bi  
 30 a-na *ilu* Nam-tar šukalli-ša a-ma-tum iz-zak-kar ,  
 31 a-lik *ilu* Nam-tar ma-ḡa-aš ikal kitti  
 32 *abnu* askuppâti-*pl* ṣa-a i-na-ša arî(?)*-pl*,  
 33 *ilu* A-nun-na-ḳi u-ši-ṣa-a i-na *isu* kussi ḡuraši šu-šib.  
 34 *ilu* Ištâr mî-*pl* balaṡi su-luḡ-ši-ma li-ḡa-aš-ši [ina maḡ]-ri-ya  
 35 il-lik *ilu* Nam-tar im-ḡa-aš ikal kitta  
 36 *abnu* askuppâti-*pl* u-ṣa-a i-na-ša *abnu* arî(?)*-pl*  
 37 *ilu* A-nun-na-ḳi u-ši-ṣa-a ina *isu* kussi ḡuraši u-ši-šib  
 38 *ilu* Ištâr mî-*pl* balaṡi is-luḡ-ši-ma il-ka-aš-ši  
 39 išt-in baba u-ši-ṣi-ši-ma ut-ti-ir-ši ṣu-bat šupil-ti ṣa zu-um-ri-ša  
 40 šana-a baba u-ši-ṣi-ši-ma ut-ti-ir-ši šî-mir ḡati-ša u šîpi-ša,  
 41 šal-šu baba u-ši-ṣi-ši-ma ut-ti-ir-ši šîb-bu *abnu* yaraḡu ṣa ḡabli-*pl*-ša,  
 42 ribu-u baba u-ši-ṣi-ši-ma ut-ti-ir-ši du-di-na-ti ṣa irti-ša,  
 43 ḡaš-šu baba u-ši-ṣi-ši-ma ut-ti-ir-ši niri-*pl* ṣa kišadi-ša,  
 44 šitti-šu baba u-ši-ṣi-ši-ma ut-ti-ir-ši in-ṣa-ba-ti ṣa uzni-ša,  
 45 sib-u baba u-ši-ṣi-ši-ma ut-ti-ir-ši a-gu-u ra-ba-a ṣa kaḳḳadi-ša.  
 46 šum-ma nap-ṡi-ri-ša la ta-ad-di-nak-kan-ma a-na ṣa-ša-ma tir....  
 47 a-na *ilu* Duzu ḡa-mir ṣi-iḡ-ru-[ti-ša]  
 48 mî-*pl* íl-lu-ti ra-am-mi-ik samna ṡaba.....  
 49 ḡuššu lu-ub-bis-su imbu-bu *abnu* ukni lim-kut(?)

- 18 Lift up thy head to the source of the waters (?) fix thy purpose, (say)  
 19 O lady do not stop the source of the flood (?) the waters in its midst I will  
     drink.'  
 20 Allat, when she heard this,  
 21 Smote her thigh, she bit her finger (and said),  
 22 'Thou hast made of me a request not to be made,  
 23 Go, Uddūšunamir, I will shut thee up in the great prison,  
 24 The mire of the city shall be thy food,  
 25 The sewers of the city shall be thy drink,  
 26 The shadow of the dungeon shall be thy dwelling,  
 27 The threshold shall be thy seat,  
 28 Prison and confinement shall shatter thy strength.'  
 29 Allat opened her mouth and spoke,  
 30 Unto Namtar, her messenger, a word she uttered ;  
 31 'Go, Namtar, break open the eternal palace,  
 32 Overturn the stones which support the threshold (?)  
 33 Bring out the Anunaki, seat them on the golden throne,  
 34 Over Ištar sprinkle the waters of life, and bring her before me.'  
 35 Namtar went, he struck open the eternal palace  
 36 He overturned the stones which supported the threshold (?)  
 37 The Anunaki he brought, on the golden throne he seated them,  
 38 He sprinkled Ištar with the water of life and brought her out.  
 39 He brought her through the first gate and restored to her the cincture of her  
     loins.  
 40 He brought her through the second gate and restored to her the bracelets of  
     her hands and feet.  
 41 He brought her through the third gate and restored to her the gemmed girdle  
     of her waist.  
 42 He brought her through the fourth gate and restored to her the clothing of  
     her breast.  
 43 He brought her through the fifth gate and restored to her the necklace of her  
     neck.  
 44 He brought her through the sixth gate and restored to her the ornaments of  
     her ears.  
 45 He brought her through the seventh gate and restored to her the great crown  
     of her head.'  
 (End of the legend: Priest begins :—)  
 46 'If she does not grant to thee her release, turn to her (again).  
 47 Unto Tammuz the husband of her youth,  
 48 Pour out the clear water, the good oil. ....  
 49 With costly clothing clothe him, a flute of lapis-lazuli may he play (?)



- 50 .....u-ḥa-ti li-na-'a-a kab-ta.....  
 51 [lim-ḥa-aš] *ilu* Bi-li-li šu-ḫat-ta u-šak.....  
 52 *abnu* inî-pl-ti ma-la-a bir.....  
 53 ik-kil a-ḥi-ša taš-mi tam-ḥa-aš *ilu* Bi-li-li šu-kut-ta ša.....  
 54 *abnu* inî-pl-ti un-tal-la-a pa-an.....  
 55 a-ḥi i-du la ta-ḥab-bîl-an-[ni]  
 56 ina û-mi *ilu* Duzu il-la-an-ni imbubu *abnu* ukni GUR *abnu* santu it-ti-  
     šu il-la-an-ni  
 57 it-ti-šu il-la-an-ni *amîlu* A-TI-pl u šal A-TI-pl.  
 58 ina *isu* nutabi li-lu-nim-ma tur-ri-in li-iš-ši-nu.

This poem, though put at the end of the material from the reign of Assurbanipal, is probably by no means the latest in time of composition of the literary references to Ištar we have examined. The copies we have of it come, however, from the library of Assurbanipal, and being unable to assign its composition to a definite era, I have placed the poem with the material from his reign. We may sketch the worship of Ištar of Nineveh historically, then, as follows:

If not first introduced into Assyria at that time, her worship received a great impetus from Aššurnasirpal I, about 1800 B. C. His language leaves us in doubt at first whether to adopt the former of these possibilities or not. In line 24 of his hymn he distinctly says, "the people of Assyria neither knew nor received thy divinity." This, however, may be nothing more than poetical hyperbole, and lines 31-33,

*"It went forth from thy mouth to renew the burned gods.*

*"The falling temples I renewed,*

*"The overthrown gods I built up, I restored to their places,*

lead us to think that the other is but poetical exaggeration. There had evidently been in Assyria before temples and images of the goddess.\* These had been burned, and her shrines had lain waste for a time and her supremacy partly forgotten, until Assurnasirpal rebuilt her temples, restored her images, and recalled her devotees to their allegiance.

This accords with what we should expect. It would be inconceivable that a Semitic goddess whose worship was so widely extended, and so prominent in Babylonia, should have ever been unknown to the Assyrians, a people who separated from the Babylonians at so late a date; but that in the fortunes of war her

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\*My friend, Professor Herman V. Hilprecht, of the University of Pennsylvania, informs me that he connects the name Nineveh with the name Nana, an old name for Ištar, and thinks the worship of this goddess was introduced into Nineveh about 2800 B. C. I do not know the line of reasoning by which he reaches this conclusion; for this the reader is referred to Professor Hilprecht's *Etymology of Nineveh*, soon to be published.

- 50 May the Uḫati wail with heavy (wailing),  
 51 May the goddess Bilili break the furniture of.....  
 52 With diamonds shall the.....be full,'  
     (Narrative).  
 53 The wailing of her brother she heard, Bilili broke the furniture of.....  
 54 With diamonds was filled the.....  
     (Voice from the dead)  
 55 'My only brother, do thou not injure me.  
 56 On the day of Tammuz play for me the lapis-lazuli flute, play for me the  
     *santu* flute!  
 57 At that time play for me, wailing men, and wailing women,  
 58 On *nutabi* instruments play, let them breathe incense.' "
- 

temples should be destroyed, and her worship in consequence be largely neglected till some leader arose to rebuild her shrines is not only highly probable but it seems historically true.

Assurnāṣirpal was, perhaps, the first one to build a temple for Ištar in Nineveh itself, but even of that his language leaves us in doubt.

We may, however, infer from his hymn that in 1800 B. C. Ištar was one of the chief deities of Nineveh. Not a supreme deity, however, as she is asked to intercede with Aššur as though he were the chief divinity. She is regarded as Aššur's wife, and undoubtedly stood next to him in the popular estimation.

As has been noted above from 1800-885 B. C. we have no certain mention of Ištar of Nineveh. During a part of that time the seat of government was at Aššur, so that the Ištar of that city naturally appears in the royal annals rather than the Ištar of Nineveh. The lack of reference to her for so long a time, however, is owing probably to the paucity of extant documents referring to this period.

It was noted above that in Assurbanipal there is evidence that Bilit and Ištār of Nineveh are identical, or to state it more accurately Bilit was at first a mere epithet of Ištar, who all through Assurnāṣirpal's hymn is addressed as *Biltu*, and that afterwards the line of separation between Bilit as an epithet of Ištar and Bilit as a separate divinity became very indistinct and fluctuating so that now the two names were supposed to refer to the same, and now to different deities. As we shall see hereafter the same thing happened in the case of the Assyrian Bil, the Babylonian Bil, and the Phœnician Baal.

On this ground the following expression of Tiglath-pileser I (cir. 1100 B. C.) may perhaps refer to Ištar of Nineveh—"Bilit the exalted spouse, the beloved of Aššur my lord." (Cf. I R. 12. 34, 35.)

Be this as it may, when Ištar of Nineveh reappears in the royal annals in the reign of Assurnāṣirpal II. (885-860 B. C.), she is still classed with Aššur as one of

the two first gods of the land. Aššur and Ištar are for him "the great gods my lords."

In the reigns immediately following she is less often referred to, and it would seem that if her worship did not decline among the people it was less esteemed by the reigning princes. Though Shalmaneser, Shamshi-raman and Sargon all mention her, and in terms of the highest reverence, it is not until Sennacherib (705-681 B. C.) that we find her classed with Aššur as one of the two chief deities. The mere absence of such mention, however, does not imply that she had ever really lost that place.

Under the Sargonidae, moreover, her worship received a new impulse, and underwent a great revival, which culminated in the reign of Assurbanipal. While Sennacherib revives the old custom of referring to her as one of the two chief deities, the mentions of her in Esarhaddon are still more frequent and explicit, and his great son Assurbanipal refers to her more often than all his predecessors together, and in a way that reveals a very great reverence for her.

Thus the worship of Ištar of Nineveh appears most clearly at the two extremes of Assyrian history, its dawn and its brilliant sunset.

As to the form assumed by the Ištar cult at Nineveh we have a few indications. When first we have mention of her, she is "the one who inhabits I-bar-bar," the house of heavenly dominion(?) which was situated near the river Tibilti and the spot where Sennacherib built his palace which Assurbanipal remodelled and repaired. This temple when first mentioned (cir. 1800 B. C.) has its interior adorned with gold. This then is no primitive sanctuary of a rude tribe, but the splendid temple of a nation considerably advanced in the arts of life. In the reign of Assurnasirpal II., a thousand years later, beams of wood were brought from the country of the Ismikhri to repair this temple, and 200 years later Assurbanipal adds an elaborate altar. When first we are introduced to this temple, moreover, a bed of some costly wood is mentioned, which is described as a *ma'alu tak-ni-i*, (a firm divan) which gives rest to her divinity. For what it was used we are left to conjecture. It seems probable, however, that at public feasts the image of the goddess reclined on it as the Roman gods reclined at their *lectisternia*. It may, however, have been connected with some obscene rite in the Ištar worship, though we have no evidence of the existence of such rites at Nineveh. Assurnasirpal I. again boasts that with precious stones he adorned the statue(?) of the goddess, and that he had set up the fourteen goddesses connected with her. As Brünnow suspects, these fifteen images seem to have some connection with the well-known ideogram of Ištar.

As to the ritual connected with this temple we have little information. That wine was an important element in it seems clear both from Assurnasirpal's boast that he had made "abundant the wine, the joy of thy heart, which thou lovest," and his complaint that for him the "wine of the temple service into gall was



changed." Esarhaddon tells us that he offered large pure sacrifices before Aššur and Ištar. This was not done in the temple, however, but in his palace at its dedication, when he made a great feast for the princes and people of his realm.\*

Aššurbanipal again tells us that at the close of the Arabian campaign he offered pure sacrifices in I-bar-bar, Ištar's own temple. This, however, was no ordinary occasion. It was a thanksgiving for a great triumph. Four fallen kings drew the monarch's triumphal car, and the whole proceeding was conducted with no ordinary pomp (cf. V R. 10. 13-39). The mention of pure sacrifices both by Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, although in Assyrian different words are used by the two kings to convey the idea (Esarhaddon using *ibbuti* and Aššurbanipal *ilū*) seems to point to a distinction between clean and unclean beasts as regards sacrifice. What this distinction was we can only conjecture. Perhaps the use of *kirru*, lamb as the regular determinative before the word for sacrifice gives us a hint toward the solution of this point.

As to the use of wine in Ištar worship, we gain some light from Aššurbanipal's hunting inscription quoted above, p. 140, especially when taken in connection with the bas-relief which it explains. The king stands before an altar and pours out the wine as a libation to the goddess, in thanksgiving for his victory in the chase.

From the mention in Ištar's Descent of the "Day of Tammuz," and the request there made that the wailing men and women would wail for some one, it is certain that the Tammuz myth was known at Nineveh, and that the days of wailing for him were observed there. Obscure as the concluding lines of the poem which contain this request are, it is certain from the tone of the request that this was a day of especial worship in which Ištar was peculiarly interested. It may well have been that there were especial feast days too, when especial sacrifices were offered to Ištar as we shall see was the case in Cyprus and Sicily. From Assurbanipal's wish that his feet might grow old going to and from I-bar-bar there would seem to have been some regular service to the goddess there.

There is, however, clear evidence that sacrifice to her was not confined to the temple precincts as in the case of the second Jewish temple, but that sacrifices were offered to her at feasts, somewhat as they were to Yahweh in the days of Amos and Hosea. In addition to sacrifice wine was poured out in libation evidently with the thought that thus the goddess drank it and her heart was made glad.

The kings speak of themselves as priests, and Assurnasirpal II. speaks of Ištar as loving his priesthood, but we have no evidence of an organized priesthood of Ištar at Nineveh, although undoubtedly such a priesthood existed. There is, moreover, no evidence that the ritual of sacrifice contained any special rubric for the priest.

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\* It is possible, however, that the temple was at the palace entrance.

Sacrifice, as it appears to us from the inscriptions, was a joyous feast, where a part of the viands were offered to the god, a thanksgiving libation for success in the chase or a thanksgiving offering for victory in war.

Both in Assurnasirpal's hymn and in Ištār's Descent, Ištār is mythologically represented as the daughter of Sin and the sister of Šamaš. In the hymn, moreover, and in the historical inscriptions she is represented as the wife or beloved of Aššur, while the Descent refers to Tammuz as the husband of her youth. This variation at Nineveh in the representations of Ištār's conjugal relations is an interesting point. It indicates that the Assyrians brought the Tammuz myth to Assyria with them, and then feeling the necessity of a union between their national god and their chief goddess, they produced, in course of time, the conception that she was the wife of Aššur. That they could, in spite of this, retain the old representation is but a reflection of the old polyandrous characteristics of Ištār which we shall discuss in a future section.

The religious conceptions embodied in the worship of Ištār at Nineveh are revealed to us in numerous epithets.

First. She is the goddess of productivity—of sexual feeling. When she descends to the lower world all sexual desire ceases both in man and beast. (Whence the myth of her descent arose we shall discuss more fully in the concluding paragraph). She herself is called the firstborn of heaven and earth, and for Sargon was the goddess "who makes the people thrive."

Secondly. She is a great mother goddess; she is called the "mother of the great gods," and "the mother of wisdom."

Thirdly. She is a queen—"queen of the gods"—"lady of majesty"—"the exalted one of the gods"—"the one who determines decrees"—"the goddess of the universe"—"the lady of heaven and earth."

Fourthly. She is in especial relationship to the people of Nineveh. She is the "lady of Nineveh" and "Nineveh is the city beloved of Ištār."

Fifthly. This relationship makes her take the deepest interest in the life of its people, so that with Aššur her husband she exerts her power to reduce to servitude the enemies of her servants, to send forth her devotees on their campaigns, to march at their side, to give them wealth and by her brilliance to aid in subduing all their foes.

Sixthly. As a direct result of the last conception Ištār becomes a warrior goddess who "brings her heart to the accomplishment of battle and war," who is a "warrioress," who is "perfect in bravery," and who is the "queen of fight and battle."

Seventhly. She is the goddess who loves justice (*mi-šar-ra*).

Eighthly. She is the "merciful goddess" who is "distressed by all that is corrupted" or goes wrong.

All these conceptions are clearly defined in the inscriptions. It is not our purpose here to attempt to account for them or to trace them to their source. We leave that to a future section.

We may note here, however, that in spite of all the noble conceptions of Ištar she is not the supreme divinity, but Assurnasirpal I. prays that she will intercede for him with Assur her beloved, the father of the gods. This is a distinct mark of the religious conceptions of the times.

We have in these inscriptions in addition to the epithets of the goddess one indication of the nature of the conception of the supernatural at Nineveh. Esarhaddon tells us that he invited (*aḫ-ri*) Aššur and Ištar into his palace to a feast. This indicates that as late as his day the gods were conceived as of such a nature that they could share a feast with their worshippers, and that their worshippers were upon such good terms with them that the gods would thus meet them; for he tells us "that these gods in the faithfulness of their hearts drew near to my royalty." It was perhaps for some such occasion as this that the couch and divan mentioned by Assurnasirpal were provided.

This conception was, in all probability, but a survival in Esarhaddon's time from an earlier and cruder age.

Worthy of note also from a religious point of view is the tone of Assurnasirpal's hymn given above. Its exaltation of the deity, its fervor, its religious depth, its recognition of the dependence of man upon the divine, its confidence that the deity can dispell all sorrows, and that all will be well when to the human servant's cry the divine heart is open, remind us strongly of some strains in the Jewish psalter, and are certainly most remarkable.



## § 2. IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR IN RAMAN-NIRARI I. CIR. 1325 B. C.

- 1 (IV R. 44. 10) *ma-al-ki ù rabûti-pl. <sup>11</sup>ilu A-nu ilu Aššur ilu Šamaš ilu Raman <sup>12</sup>ù ilu Ištar a-na ši-pi-šu ú-ši-ik-ni.*

- 2 (IV R. 45. 29) *ilu A-nu ilu Bīl ilu Ea ù ilu Ištar<sup>30</sup> ilāni-pl rabûti-pl.*

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR IN TIGLATH-PILESER I. CIR. 1100 B. C.

- 1 (I R. 9. 13) *ilu Ištar riš-ti ilāni-pl bī-lit tí-ši-f mu-šar-ri-ḥat ḳabli-pl-ti.*

- 2 (I R. 12. 34) *šá al-ḳa-a a-na ú-tu-'u-ut bit ilu Bīlit <sup>35</sup>hi-ir-ti rabi-ti na-šad-di ilu A-šur bīli-ya<sup>36</sup> ilu A-nim ilu Raman ilu Ištar a-šu-ri-ti <sup>37</sup>kur-pl-at ali-ya ilu A-šur <sup>38</sup>u ištara-pl-at mat-ti-ya lu-ú aš-ru-uḳ.*

- 3 (I R. 14. 85) *iš-tu nakrû-pl-ut ilu A-šur a-na paṭ gim-ri-šu-nu <sup>86</sup>a-pi-lu-ú bit ilu Ištar aš-šu-ri-i-ti.....ipu-uš.*

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR IN ASSURBANIPAL 668-626 B. C.

- 1 (V R. 1. 65) *aš-ši ḳati-ya u-šal-li ilu Aššur u ilu Ištar aššur-i-ti. <sup>66</sup>Ad-ki-f ami-lu f-mu-ki-ya ši-ra-a-ti ša ilu Aššur u ilu Ištar <sup>67</sup>u-mal-lu-u ḳatu-u-a.*

Our materials are too few to enable us to give anything like a historical sketch of the worship of Ištar at Aššur. The Ištar of that city is apparently a goddess in the pantheon of Raman-nirari I. (cir. 1315 B. C.). Aššur seems to have been one of the older of the Assyrian cities, and we may be sure both on the grounds of antecedent probability, and from the fact that Ištar of Aššur is cir. 1300 B. C. a chief goddess in a royal pantheon, that her worship at that city extends back to an antiquity considerably more remote.

In Tiglath-pileser I. the references to this Ištar are very distinct. She is for him an important goddess, though perhaps not the chief goddess. He calls Bilit "the great spouse, the beloved of Aššur." As we have seen in the foregoing section there is some ground for supposing that Bilit is the Ištar of Nineveh. Does Tiglath-pileser then recognize Aššur and the Ištar of Nineveh as the supreme deities of his land, while with his capital at Aššur, he had the temple of another Ištar at his very doors? This is very improbable. As we have already seen the term *biltu* or *bilit* like the Canaanite *baal* was originally a title. It is quite as likely that that title was applied by Tiglath-pileser to the Ištar of his own capital as that it should be applied by

## § 2. IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR.

## MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR IN RAMAN-NIRARI I. CIR. 1325 B. C.

- 1 "Kings and princes Anu, Aššur, Šamaš, Raman and Ištar subdued under his feet."

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- 2 "Anu, Bil, Ea, and Ištar, the great gods."

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As the inscription in which these passages occur was found at Aššur, I infer that Aššur was Raman-nirari's capital, and that he mentions the Ištar of that city.

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## MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR IN TIGLATH-PILESER I. CIR. 1100 B. C.

- 1 "Ištar, the first born of the gods, the queen of fight(?) the one who gives strength for battle."

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- 2 "... "Which I took as a present(?) to the temple of Bilit, the great spouse, the beloved of Aššur my lord, (to the temples of) Anu, Raman, Ištar of Aššur, the temples of my city Aššur, and of the goddesses of my land, I presented."

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- 3 After the enemies of Assur to their farthest limit I had subdued, I built the temple of Ištar of Aššur.

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## MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF AŠŠUR IN ASSURBANIPAL 668-626 B. C.

- 1 "I lifted up my hands I besought Aššur and Ištar of Aššur. I mustered my noble forces with which Aššur and Ištar had filled my hand."

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Assyrian kings living at Nineveh to the goddess of their own city. We may therefore assume that to Tiglath-pileser Ištar was the supreme goddess who with Aššur her husband watched over his empire and directed the fortunes of himself and his people.

From the time of Tiglath-pileser I. we have no mention of the Ištar of Aššur for nearly 500 years. The capital went back to Nineveh, and the Ištar of that city filled both the royal eye and the royal annals during the succeeding centuries. At last the silence is broken, however, by Assurbanipal. He tells us that on one occasion he prayed to Ištar of Aššur. This assures us that during these five centuries of silence the worship of Ištar had gone on in that city, though perhaps in a less splendid style than at Nineveh owing to royal neglect. After Assurbanipal, silence unbroken closes over the Ištar of Aššur as over everything else Assyrian.

As to the form assumed by the Istar cult at Aššur we know absolutely nothing. Tiglath-pileser tells us that he "built the temple of Istar of Aššur," and we infer that he did it with a royal magnificence similar to that displayed by Assur-naširpal I. in the temple of Istar at Nineveh, but beyond this we have no testimony. We may assume, perhaps, that the rites here were similar to those at Nineveh. We have already seen that this Istar like the one at Nineveh was probably called the wife of Aššur. We may hence infer that the myths connected with these two Istars were the same.

We have moreover almost no clue to the religious conceptions connected with the Istar of Aššur. She is called "the first born of the gods," "the queen of fight

### § 3. IŠTAR OF ARBELA:

#### MENTION OF IŠTAR OF ARBELA IN SENNACHERIB 705-681 B. C.

- 1 (I R. 41. 50) *Ilu Aššur ilu Sin ilu Šamaš ilu Bīl ilu Nabu ilu Nergal ilu Istar ša Nina-ki ilu Istar ša alu Arba-ili ilāni-pl ti-ik-ly-a.*

#### MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF ARBELA IN ESARHADDON 681-668 B. C.

- 1 (I R. 45. 4) [*ilu Aššur*] *ilu Sin ilu Šamaš ilu Nabu ilu Marduk ilu Istar ša Nina-ki ilu Istar ša Arba-ili-ki ilāni-pl. rabûti-pl.*

- 2 (IV R. 68. Col. III. 15) *A-na-ku ilu Istar ša alu Arba-ili<sup>16</sup> m Aššur-aḫi-iddina šarri matu ilu Aššur-ki<sup>17</sup> ina alu Aššur alu Nina<sup>18</sup> alu Kal-ḫa alu Arba-ili<sup>19</sup> umi-pl ar-ku-u-ti<sup>20</sup> šanāti-pl da-ra-ti<sup>21</sup> a-na m ilu Aššur-aḫi-iddina šarri-ya<sup>22</sup> a-da-an-na. <sup>23</sup>sa-ap-su-up-ta-ka<sup>24</sup> ra-bi-tu a-na-ku<sup>25</sup> mu-ši-šu-ta-ka<sup>26</sup> di-ik-tu a-na-ku. <sup>27</sup>ša ū-mi ar-ku-ti<sup>28</sup> šanāti-pl da-ra-ti<sup>29</sup> iṣu kussa-ka ina irši-ta šam-i<sup>30</sup> ra-bu-ti uk-ti-iu. <sup>31</sup>ina ma-si-ki ša ḫuraši<sup>32</sup> ina kabal šam-i a-ḫa-ri-di. <sup>33</sup>nu-ur ša il-mi-ši<sup>34</sup> ina pan m ilu Aššur-aḫi-iddina šarri matu ilu Aššur<sup>35</sup> ū-ša-na-ma-ra. <sup>36</sup>ki-i a-gi-i ša kaḫḫadi-ya<sup>37</sup> a-ḫa-ri-su. <sup>38</sup>la ta-pa-laḫ šarru<sup>39</sup> aḫ-ti-ba-ak ..... <sup>43</sup>nāru ina tu-ḫu-un-ni<sup>45</sup> ū-ši-ba-ar-ka. <sup>46</sup>m ilu Aššur-aḫi-iddina ap-lu<sup>47</sup> ki-i-nu apal ilu Bīlit ..... <sup>48</sup>ina ḫati-ya<sup>50</sup> amilu nakirī-pl-ka<sup>51</sup> ū-ḫa-at-ta.*

#### MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF ARBELA IN ASSURBANIPAL 668-626 B. C.

- 1 (V R. I. 13) *ilu Aššur ilu Bīlit ilu Sin ilu Šamaš ilu Raman ilu Bīl ilu Nabu ilu Istar ša Nina-ki ilu Šar-rat kid-mu-ri ilu Istar ša alu Arba-ili-ki ilu Adar ilu Nergal ilu Nusku.*



who gives strength for battle;" hence we know that she was a goddess of productivity—of love, and also a goddess of battle. As we have seen she is classed by two of the kings who worshipped her with Aššur as one of the supreme divinities. As all these conceptions coincide with conceptions entertained at Nineveh with reference to the Ištar of that city, we may infer that had we more information concerning the Ištar of Aššur it would but go to show that in all their attributes the two goddesses were identical. Indeed, Assurbanipal in the passage quoted above speaks of the Ištar of Aššur just as everywhere else he speaks of the Ištar of Nineveh, showing that in his thought they were so alike as to be practically interchangeable.

### §3. IŠTAR OF ARBELA.

#### MENTION OF IŠTAR OF ARBELA IN SENNACHERIB 705-681 B. C.

- 1 "Aššur, Sin, Šamas, Bil, Nabu, Nergal, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, the gods whom I trust."

This quotation is repeated from p. 138, to recall the fact that Ištar of Arbela was a member of Sennacherib's pantheon.

#### MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF ARBELA IN ESARHADDON 681-668 B. C.

- 1 "Aššur, Sin, Šamaš, Nabu, Marduk, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, the great gods."

She was, then, a member of Esarhaddon's pantheon.

- 2 "I am Ištar of Arbela, O Esarhaddon, king of Assyria; in Aššur, Nineveh, Kalah (and) Arbela, long days, and everlasting years I will give to Esarhaddon, my king. Thy limbs I enlarge. Thy guide, thy vengeance am I. For long days (and) everlasting years I have established thy throne in earth (and) great heaven. For (my) covering of gold in the midst of the heaven I am careful(?). I will cause the light which surrounds it to shine before Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, like the crown of my head, I will make it bright. Do not fear, O king, I have spoken to thee..... The river with certainty I will cause thee to cross. O Esarhaddon, faithful son, son of Bilit.....by my hand I will make an end of thy foes," etc.

#### MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF ARBELA IN ASSURBANIPAL 668-626 B. C.

- 1 "Aššur, Bilit, Sin, Šamaš, Raman, Bil, Nabu, Ištar of Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela, Adar, Nergal and Nusku."

This list is repeated from p. 140 to show that Ištar of Arbela was a member of Assurbanipal's pantheon.

- 1 (V R. 3. 4) Ina a-mat *ilu* Ištar <sup>5</sup>a-ši-bat *alu* Arba-ili ša ultu ri-i-ši taḫ-bu-u um-ma ana-ku mi-tu-tu *m* Aḫ-šif-i-ri šarri *matu* Man-na-a-a ki-i ša aḫ-bu-u ip-pu-uš ina ḫata ardâni-*pl*-šu tam-nu-šu-u-ma etc.
- 
- 2 (V R. 5. 95sq. AS<sup>3</sup>. p. 118) Ummânâti-ya *naru* Id-id-i a-gu-u šam-ru <sup>96</sup>i-mu-ru ip-la-ḫu a-na ni-ba-ar-ti. <sup>97</sup>*ilu* Ištar a-ši-bat *alu* Arba-ili ina šat mu-ši <sup>98</sup>a-na ummânâti-ya šuttu u-šab-ri-ma <sup>99</sup>ki-a-am iḫ-bi-šu-nu-ti <sup>100</sup>um-ma a-na-ku al-lak ina ma-ḫar *m ilu* Aššur-bani-apla <sup>101</sup>šarri ša ib-na-a ḫata-a-a, <sup>102</sup>i-li šutti an-na-ti ummânâti-ya ir-ḫu-ḡu <sup>103</sup>*naru* Id-id-i i-bi-ru šal-miš.
- 
- 3 (III R. 32. 16 sq. Sm. *Assurbanipal*, p. 119 sq.) Ina *arah* Abu arah na-an-ḫar-ti *kakabu* Kašti <sup>17</sup>i-sin-ni šar-ra-ti ka-bit-ti binat *ilu* Bīl a-na pa-laḫ-ša rab-ti aš-ba-ak <sup>19</sup>ina *alu* Arba-ili ali na-ram lib-bi-ša, <sup>20</sup>aš-šu ti-bu-ut *amilu* Ílam-i ša ba-lu ilâni-*pl* it-ba-a <sup>21</sup>[u-ša]-an-nu-u-ni ṭi-i-mu <sup>22</sup>um-ma *m* Ti-um-man ki-a-am iḫ-bi <sup>23</sup>šá *ilu* Ištar ú-ša-an-nu-u mi-lik ti-mí-šu <sup>24</sup>um-ma ul ú-maš-šar a-di a-la-ku <sup>25</sup>it-ti-šu i-pu-šu mit-ḫu-ḡu-ti. <sup>26</sup>su-par mi-ri-iḫ-ti an-ni-ti ša *m* Ti-um-man <sup>27</sup>iḫ-bu-u am-ḫar [ša]-ḫu-ti *ilu* Iš-tar <sup>28</sup>a-zi-ma ana tar-ši-ša, ak-mi-iš ša-pal-ša <sup>29</sup>ilu-us-sa ú-ša-ap-pa-a il-la-ka di-ma-a-a <sup>30</sup>um-ma bí-lat *alu* Arba-ili a-na-ku *m ilu* Aššur-bani-apla šarri *matu ilu* Aššur <sup>31</sup>bi-mi-ut ḫati-ki .....abu ba-nu-ki <sup>32</sup>a-na ud-du-ši iš-ri-i-ti *matu ilu* Aššur-*ki* u šuk-lul ma-ḫa-zi *matu* Akkad-*ki*.....<sup>33</sup>a-na-ku aš-ri-i-ki aš-ti-ni-í-a a-li-ka a-na pa-liḫ.....<sup>34</sup>ú šu-ú *m* Ti-um-man šarri *matu* Ílamtu-*ki* la mu-sa-kir ilâni-*pl* ku.....li a-na.....<sup>35</sup>um-ma at-ti bí-lat bí-li-i-ti i-mat ḫab-li bí-lat ta-ḫa-zi ma-li-kat ilâni-*pl*.....<sup>36</sup>ša ina ma-ḫar *ilu* Aššur abi ba-ni-ki damiḫta taḫ-bi-i i-na ni....<sup>37</sup>iḫ-šu-ḫa-an-ni....<sup>38</sup>a-na šu-ṭu-ub lib-bi *ilu* Aššur u nu-uḫ-ḫi ka-bat-ti *ilu* Marduk...ru-ur-ru-ki...<sup>39</sup>aš-šu *m* Ti-um-man šarri *matu* Ílamtu-*ki* <sup>40</sup>šá a-na *ilu* Aššur....<sup>41</sup>abi ba-ni-ki iḫ-ṭu-u....(a) ú a-na *ilu* Marduk aḫi, ta-li-mi-ki ilu-tu-šu nam.....(b) ú ya-a-ši *m* Aššur-bani-apla ša a-na nu-uḫ lib-bi *ilu* Aššur u.....<sup>42</sup>id-ka-a ummânâti-šu iḫ-ḡu-ra ta-ḫa-zu <sup>43</sup>u-ša'-a-a-la *iḡu* kakki-*pl*-šu a-na alak *matu ilu* Aššur-*ki* <sup>44</sup>um-ma at-ti ḫa-šit-ti ilâni-*pl* kima bílti <sup>45</sup>ina ḫa-bal tam-ḫa-ri pu-uṭ-ṭi-ri-šu-ma di-kiš-šu mi-ḫu-ú <sup>46</sup>šâri lim-nu. in-ḫi-ya šu-nu-ḫu-ti *ilu* Ištar iš-mí-ma <sup>47</sup>la ta-pal-luḫ iḫ-ba-a ú-šar-ḫi-za-an-ni lib-bu <sup>48</sup>a-na ni-iš ḫati-ki ša taš-ša-a inf-ka im-la-a di-im-tú <sup>49</sup>ar-ta-ši rimu. ina šat mu-ši šu-a-tu ša am-ḫu-ru-ši <sup>50</sup>išt-ín šap-ru-u ú-tu-ul-ma i-na-ṭal šutta <sup>51</sup>i-gi-il-ti-ma tab-šit mu-ši

- 1 "According to the word Ištar, who dwells at Arbela, which from the first she had spoken saying, 'I will accomplish the death of Aḫ-ši-i-ri, king of the Mannaens, according as I said,' she gave him into the hands of his servants."
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- 2 "My forces saw the river Ididi, a violent torrent and they were afraid to cross it. Ištar, who dwells at Arbela during an hour of the night, caused my forces to see a dream, and thus she spoke to them saying, 'I am going before Assurbanipal the king, whom my hand has created.' Upon this dream my forces overflowed (with joy) and crossed the Ididi safely."
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- 3 "In the month Ab, the month of the appearance(?) of the star, Kaštu (Sagittarius), the feast of the glorious queen, the daughter of Bil, to worship her, the great one, I poured out a libation(?) in Arbela, the city which is the delight of her heart, because concerning the coming of the Elamite who came in opposition to the gods, they brought me news, saying: 'Tiumman thus has said of Ištar' (and) they repeated to me the tenor of his message saying: 'I will not depart until I go with him (Assurbanipal) to make war.' On account of this threat(?) which Tiumman had uttered I prayed to the lofty one, Ištar. I approached into her presence. I bowed beneath her, her divinity I honored, my tears flowed. [I prayed] saying: 'Lady of Arbela, I am Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, the creature of thy hands. . . . . the father who begat thee, to restore the temples of Assyria, and complete the cities of Akkad. . . . . I cared for thy courts, I have come to worship. . . . . and he, Tiumman, king of Elam, who does not honor the gods. . . . to. . . . Thou art the lady of ladies, terrible in onslaught, the lady in battle, the queen of the gods. . . . who in the presence of Aššur the father who begat thee, speakest favor in. . . . . loved me(?). . . . . To rejoice the heart of Aššur and appease the liver of Marduk. . . . thy *ru-ur-ru*. . . . As to Tiumman, king of Elam who against Aššur. . . . the father who begat thee has sinned. . . . and against Marduk, the brother, thy companion, his divinity. . . . . and me Assurbanipal, who to give rest to the heart of Aššur and. . . . . he has mustered his forces, he has prepared for war, he has demanded his weapons to march against Assyria. O thou warrioress of the gods, strike him down like a weight in the midst of battle and kill him (as) a storm of evil wind.' My intense supplication Ištar heard, and 'do not fear,' she said, she made my heart confident. 'On account of the lifting up of thy hands which thou hast lifted up, and thy eyes (which) were filled with tears, I grant favor.' In an hour of that night when I prayed to her, a seer, lay down and saw a prophetic(?) dream and Ištar caused him to



*ilu* Ištār ú-šab-ru-u-šu <sup>52</sup>ú-ša-an-na-a ya-a-ti um-ma *ilu* Ištār a-ši-bat *alu* Arba-ili <sup>53</sup>í-ru-ub-am-ma imna u šumila tu-ul-la-a-ta iš-pa-a-ti <sup>54</sup>tam-ḥa-at *išu* kaštu i-na i-di-ša <sup>55</sup>šal-pat nam-ša-ru kab-tu ša í-piš ta-ḥa-zi. <sup>56</sup>ma-ḥar-ša ta-zi-iz. ši-i ki-ma umma <sup>57</sup>a-lit-ti i-tam-ma-a it-ti-ka <sup>58</sup>il-si-ka. *ilu* Ištār ša-ku-ut ilāni-*pl* i-šak-kan-ka ṭi-f-mu <sup>59</sup>um-ma ta-na-ṭa-la a-na í-piš ša-aš-ši <sup>60</sup>a-šar pa-nu-ki šak-nu. ti-ba-ku a-na-ku <sup>61</sup>at-ta ta-ḥab-bi-ši um-ma a-šar tal-la-ki <sup>62</sup>it-ti-ki lul-lik. bílat bíliti-*pl* ši-i tu-ša-an-nak-ka umma at-ta a-kan-na <sup>64</sup>lu aš-ba-ta a-šar maš-kan-i *ilu* Nabu. <sup>65</sup>a-kul a-ka-lu ši-ti ku-ru-un-nu <sup>66</sup>nin-gu-ut šu-kunn u-'u-id ilu-ti, <sup>67</sup>a-di al-la-ku šip-ru šu-a-tu ip-pu-šu. <sup>68</sup>u-šak-ša-du šu-mí-rat lib-bi-ka. <sup>69</sup>pa-nu-u-ka ul ur-tak ul i-nir-ru-da šipi-ka, <sup>70</sup>ul ta-ú-rid šu-par-ka. <sup>71</sup>ina ḡabal tam-ḥa-ri ina ki-rim-mi ša ṭabti ṭaḡ-zi-in-ka-ma. <sup>72</sup>ṭaḡ-ṭi-na gi-mir la-a-ni-ka <sup>73</sup>pa-nu-uš-ša išatu in-na-pi-ih a-na ka-ša-ad *amilu* nakirî-*pl*-[ka].

- 1 (I R. 8, No. 2, Pinches' *Texts*, p. 17 sq.) *alu* Arba-ili šu-bat *ilu* Ištār bit i-sin-na-a-ti ši(?).....<sup>2</sup>šá ul-tu ul-la duri-šu la ib-šu la šuk-lu-la [šal-ḡu-u-šu]. <sup>3</sup>du-ri-šu ar-šip-ma u-šak-lil šal-ḡu-u-šu lu-li-í [uš-mal-li] <sup>4</sup>bit *ilu* Ištār bilti-ya ina šarpi ḡuraši íri ú-nam-mir ki-ma ú-mi <sup>5</sup>išu šu-ri-in-ni bâb bit *ilu* Ištār šarpu ḡurašu ú-ša í-in-ma az-kup. <sup>6</sup>*Alu* IS-KI-A ikal širi mu-šab *ilu* Ištār an-ḡu-us-su ud-diš. <sup>7</sup>Ì-a bit-su ar-šip ala a-na gi-mir-ti-šu ú-šak-lil.

#### ASTRONOMICAL REPORTS.

- 1 (III R. 51, No. 5) <sup>1</sup>A-na šarri bíli-ya <sup>2</sup>ardu-ka *m ilu* Ištār-[iddin-apla] <sup>3</sup>*am-ilu* rab-u-ti <sup>4</sup>šá *alu* Arba-ili. <sup>5</sup>lu-u šul-mu <sup>6</sup>a-na šarri bíli-ya. <sup>7</sup>*ilu* Nabu *ilu* Marduk <sup>8</sup>*ilu* Ištār šá *alu* Arba-ili <sup>9</sup>a-na šarri bíli-ya <sup>10</sup>lik-ru-bu. <sup>11</sup>ina úmi XXIX *kan* <sup>12</sup>ma-šar-tu <sup>13</sup>ni-ta-ša-ar <sup>14</sup>*ilu* Sin la ni-mur. <sup>16</sup>ina araḡ Duzu, úmi II *kan* <sup>17</sup>lim-mu *m* Bíl-šu-nu <sup>18</sup>*am-ilu* bíl *alu* Hi-in-da-na.

- 1 (III R. 51, No. 6 and Del. AL<sup>3</sup>, p. 122) <sup>1</sup>A-na šarri bíli-ya <sup>2</sup>ardu-ka *m ilu* Ištār-iddin-aplu <sup>3</sup>*amilu* rab-u-ti <sup>4</sup>šá *amilu* barî-*pl* <sup>5</sup>šá *alu* Arba-ili. <sup>6</sup>lu-u šul-mu <sup>7</sup>a-na šarri bíli-ya. <sup>8</sup>*ilu* Nabu *ilu* Marduk <sup>9</sup>*ilu* Ištār ša *alu* Arba-ili <sup>10</sup>a-na šarri bíli-ya <sup>11</sup>lik-ru-bu <sup>12</sup>ina úmi XXIX. *kan* <sup>13</sup>ma-šar-tu <sup>14</sup>ni-ta-ša-ar <sup>15</sup>bi-it ta-mar-ti <sup>16</sup>urpatu. <sup>18</sup>*ilu* Sin la ni-mur <sup>20</sup>araḡ Šabaṭu úmi I. *kan* <sup>21</sup>lim-nu *m* Bíl-ḡarran-šad-u-a.

see a vision of the night and he announced it to me, saying: 'Ištar, who dwells at Arbela, entered and (on her) right and left she was behung with quivers, she was holding a bow in her hand, she brandished a heavy sword to make war. Thou wast sitting before her. She like the mother who bore (thee) was speaking to thee, (and) talking with thee. Ištar, the exalted one of the gods was appointing thee a message, saying: 'Thou shalt look for making war(?) at the place which lies before thee(?). I am coming.' Thou wast answering her saying: 'Where thou goest I will go with thee, O lady of ladies.' She repeated to thee, saying: 'Thou there(?) verily thou inhabitest the place of the dwelling of Nebo. Eat food, drink wine, appoint rejoicing, exalt my divinity until I go, (and) this mission accomplish....I will cause thee to accomplish the wish of thy heart. Thy face he shall not harm, thy feet he shall not resist, nor thy rejoicing(?) come to nought' (lit. descend). In the midst of battle she arms thee with the desolation of her goodness, and gives the *hutnu* weapon(?) to all who dwell(?) with thee. Before her a fire is blown to capture thy foes.'"

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- 1 "Arbela, <sup>1</sup>the dwelling of Ištar, the fortified(?) house.....<sup>2</sup>whose wall from ancient time had not existed, its rampart was not complete, its wall I built its rampart I finished (I filled) with *luli*. The house of Ištar my lady with silver, gold and bronze I made bright as the day. The *šurinni* wood of the gate of the house of Ištar with silver and gold, I made good, I raised up. IŠ-KI-A, the lofty palace, the dwelling of Ištar—its decay I repaired. Ia her house I built up. I completed the city to its whole extent.

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#### ASTRONOMICAL REPORTS.

- 1 "Unto the king my lord, thy servant Ištariddinpal, the chief of Arbela. May there be peace to the king, my lord. May Nabu, Marduk and Ištar of Arbela to the king my lord be gracious. On the 29th day the watch was kept, the moon was not seen. (Dated) in the month Duzu, 2d day, in the eponym of Bilšunu, prefect of Khindana."

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- 1 "To the king my lord, thy servant Ištariddinpal, chief of the astronomers of Arbela. May peace be to the king my lord. May Nabu, Marduk (and) Ištar of Arbela to the king my lord be gracious. On the 29th day the watch was kept. In the field of observation was a cloud. The moon was not seen. (Dated) month Šebať, 1st day, eponym of Billsharranšadua."

As appears from the above quotations, the time, during which the Ištar of Arbela is known to us historically, is confined to about eighty years, 705-626 B. C. There is no certain reference to her before the reign of Sennacherib, and between that time and the close of Assurbanipal's reign the monuments tell us all they have to say about her. Ištar of Arbela appears to us for the first time in Sennacherib's pantheon, but apart from his list of gods, we find no mention of her in his reign. In Esarhaddon we have outside of his list of gods only an oracle coming from her, while most of our knowledge of her comes from the Augustan age of Assurbanipal. We must not, however, infer too much from silence, as it is probable that there had been a shrine of Ištar at Arbela long before the days of Sennacherib; at least in Assurbanipal's time he could speak of renewing its decay. The fact, however, that until Sennacherib, Ištar of Arbela does not appear in the list of the gods of the royal pantheon, would seem to indicate that until that time or just before it she had not been considered as distinct from the Ištar of Nineveh. As we have seen the Ištars of Nineveh and Aššur were practically the same in all their characteristics, and it would seem that in early Assyrian history the Ištar of Arbela was not sharply distinguished from these; but as Yahweh was worshipped in Israel in the days of the kings at Jerusalem, at Bethel, and at Dan, so Ištar was worshipped in Assyria at Aššur, Nineveh, and Arbela. Gradually, however, a distinction grew up, so that the Ištars of Nineveh and Arbela were to Sennacherib two distinct divinities, each represented in his pantheon by different designations. Gradually too, different myths grew up around the Ištar of Arbela, and as we shall see later the religious conceptions connected with her were of a much more limited character than in the case of the other Ištars.

As to the mythological representations connected with this Ištar, she is called the daughter of Aššur,\* and the sister of Marduk, whereas the Ištar of Nineveh was the daughter of Sin, the sister of Šamaš and the wife of Aššur. This change of mythological statement seems to point, for its growth, to the lapse of considerable time after the worship of Ištar was established at Arbela. The fact that Ištar is here called the daughter of Aššur seems to point: 1, to a comparatively late development of the distinction between this and the other Assyrian Ištars, and 2, to a consciousness that the worship of Ištar under the restricted conceptions to which she was confined at Arbela, was a peculiarly Assyrian development.

As to the form assumed by the cult of Ištar at Arbela we know almost nothing. There was a temple, which as repaired by Assurbanipal was decorated with gold, silver and bronze, and there seems to have been connected with its tower an

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\* It will be noticed that Ištar is also called the daughter of Bil, thus making Bil and Aššur refer to the same deity and giving ground for the statement made, *supra*, § 1.



astronomical observatory from which reports were sent to the king. We do not know how the oracle of this Ištar was conveyed to Esarhaddon, but it was, perhaps, through priests or priestly seers. The passage in her message to Assurbanipal through the seer, which reads, "Eat food, drink wine, appoint rejoicing, exalt my divinity," would seem to imply that there were seers connected with her worship and that her worship still consisted of joyful sacrificial feasts, as we found reason to believe that that of the Ištar of Nineveh did, in the days of Esarhaddon.

Ištar of Arbela was considered "the glorious queen," "the lady of ladies," "the exalted one of the gods," "the resister of onslaught" and "the warriorress of the gods." It would appear from the fact that she is called the daughter of Aššur, but not the wife or beloved of any deity, that she was a virgin goddess as was the Greek Artemis. She would be thought of, then, as a virgin queen who was a goddess of war pure and simple. She is called nowhere, the first born of the gods, or a mother of gods or men, but is an out-and-out war goddess armed with a bow, quiver, and sword, and before whom a fire is blown to devour the enemies of her worshippers. We must not press this point, however, as it is based largely on silence, and even if she were a virgin goddess she might even in that character in a Semitic cult foster unmarried love.

While she is particularly the goddess who gives oracles, she often reveals her will through dreams. She sends a dream to the forces of Assurbanipal when they fear to cross a river, and when he prays for help a seer is sent by means of a dream to convey to him the cheering message of the goddess. This seems to be a favorite method of communication between the supernatural and man in the days of Assurbanipal. Compare the vision of Aššur to Gyges of Lydia, V R. 2. 95 sq.

In their dreams, however, the conception of Ištar was naturally anthropomorphic. The seer sees her talking with Assurbanipal like the mother who bore him, while he sat at her feet.

[To be continued in next Number.]

# THE SYRIAC VERSIONS OF THE CATEGORIES OF ARISTOTLE.

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The work of the Syrian scholars in translating and commenting upon the Aristotelean writings is well-known. Their value has also been recognized as the starting-point for the later Arabic-Hebrew-Latin development,<sup>1</sup> and also for the text-criticism of the Greek originals themselves. It was especially the *Organon* which interested these men;<sup>2</sup> for they were, in the first place, theologians, and the *Organon* forged weapons for their theological dialectics. It also gave a basis for their grammatical studies to which they were led by their desire to accurately fix and understand the word of Scripture. They knew of other writings of Aristotle, real and spurious; but we get only an inkling now and then of their influence in the later literature.<sup>3</sup> The knowledge of them died out, as the theological interest grew deeper; but the knowledge of the *Organon* was kept alive through the golden and silver ages of Syriac literature.<sup>4</sup>

It is surprising that what has come down to us of these early translations and commentaries should have lain in the libraries for so long a time without being used. George Hoffmann made an excellent beginning with his edition and criticism of the Syriac *περὶ ἑρμηνείας*.<sup>5</sup> Fifteen years later D. S. Margoliouth followed with the *ποιητικαὶ*<sup>6</sup>; but he was sorely pressed, as, for the Syriac, he could rely only upon a late compendium of Bar 'Ebhṛāyā.

My own studies in the history of the native Syriac grammarians had led me back to the *κατηγορίαι* of Aristotle; and in 1886, after having copied the Berlin MS., I went to London to copy the MSS. in the British Museum. Since then I have been hoping to find sufficient leisure to work them up in connection with the Greek text. But other literary and academical work, which takes up the best

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ueberweg, *History of Philosophy*, I, § 95f. Renan, *De philosophica peripatetica apud Syros*, passim.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Merx, *Historia artis grammaticae apud Syros*, 1889, p. 3. Gottheil, *A Tract on the Syriac Conjunctions*, HEBRAICA, IV., 167.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. in regard to the *Μετεωρολογικά* Gottheil, *Contributions to the History of Geography*, II, HEBRAICA, VII., pp. 408sq.

<sup>4</sup> E. g. Bar Zo'bi, Bazwadh in his *Liber definitionum*, Bar Ebhrāyā in the logical parts of his "M'nārath Qudhšē," etc.

<sup>5</sup> *De Hermeneuticis apud Syros Aristoteleis*. Leipzig, 1873 (2).

<sup>6</sup> *Analecta Orientalia ad Poeticam Aristoteleam*. Londini, 1887, cf. also Diels, *Sitz. Ber. der Preuss. Acad. der Wissen.*, 1888, pp. 49-54. *Archive für gesch. der Philosophie*, II, 3, p. 499. *Revue Critique*, 1888, 14, p. 261.

hours of the day, have kept me from carrying out my intention. As the future looks as crowded as the past has been, I must give up hoping, and content myself with laying the texts, as I have found them, before my colleagues. I have instructed one of my students to proceed with the critical part of the work; and I have good reason to feel satisfied that it will be well done.

An Arabic translation of the categories was published many years ago by J. T. Zenker from a well-known Paris MS.<sup>7</sup> With which Syriac translation it agrees, remains yet to be seen. I have stated elsewhere<sup>8</sup> that there seem to exist at least four distinct versions of the *Categories* in Syriac.

1. MS. Brit. Mus. add. 14659, fols. 3a-28b.

2. MS. Brit. Mus. add. 14658, fols. 73-91b.

3. MS. Bibliotheque Nat. Ancient Fonds 161, fols. 11b-27b = MS. Vatican 158, fol. 27b sq.

4. MS. Sachau 236, fols. 10a-42b.

In one of Tischendorf's MSS. there is a page of the *Categories*:<sup>9</sup> but I know nothing further in regard to it. In a note to p. 834 in his article, "Syriac Literature" (*Encycl. Brit.*), Wright supposes the Vatican MS. to contain the same translation as does Brit. Mus. add. 14658. But this is not so, as a comparison of a couple of pages has shown me.<sup>10</sup>

The first version (A) is probably the work of George, Bishop of the Arabs (ordained 686 A. D.), and is taken from MS. Brit. Mus. add. 14659.<sup>11</sup> It is unnecessary for me to do more than direct attention to the three excellent treatises of Ryssell,<sup>12</sup> which show the extent and depths of George's knowledge. The volume—written in a large Estrangela of the VIIIth or IXth century—has been sufficiently described by Wright. The MS. has suffered somewhat; and, in some places, is illegible. I have been scrupulous to give only what can be seen. I have not been sparing with question marks; and what I have supplied of my own accord is bracketed. The volume is full of marginal notes, which I have read as best I could.

The chapter division in the Syriac is a little different to our own. I have added the paging of Bekker's edition of the Greek for the sake of easier reference.

<sup>7</sup> *Aristotelis Categoriae*, etc. Lipsiae, 1846. Cf. Wenrich, *De auctorum graecorum Versionibus*, etc. Lipsiae, 1843, p. 131sq. There is said to be a similar MS. in a Damascus Library. *Athenæum*, 1 Feb., 1890, p. 148.

<sup>8</sup> *A Syriac Fragment*, *HEBRAICA*, IV., p. 206.

<sup>9</sup> *Anecdota Sacra et Profana*. Lipsiae, 1861, p. 68.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Hoffmann, *De Hermeneuticis*, p. 18: "Itaque iam hinc utriusque versionis auctorem diversum esse perspicitur."

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Renan, *Journal Asiatique*, 1852, p. 324. Wright, *Catalogue*, p. 1163.

<sup>12</sup> "Ein Brief Georgs, Bischofs der Araber. Gotha, 1883. *Georgs des Araber-bischofs Gedichte und Briefe*. Leipzig, 1891. *Poemi Siriact di Giorgio vescova degli Arabi*, Reale Accademia dei Lincei. Roma, 1892.





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ب. مذهب ہے، پس نہ! لا۔ مذهب کا یہ معنی ۲۲ پہلے حکم ہے نہ حکم  
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זל. מביע קו חסד וחסד וחסד וחסד \* רבנן זל. מביע

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270 سقوكلما مضم. داسر اسم داسم. مضمكلم داسك سقوكلما مضمكلم

الاسم. انا كذا بنو اسر سب جنس<sup>(١)</sup> اب فلان صا.  
ولا مدرك له فلهذا لا يصح

امس. ٥١ من كتاب استبلا. ٥٢ من كتاب اسرار الحكماء في معرفة ما لم يدر من قبلهم. ٥٣ من كتاب اسرار الحكماء في معرفة ما لم يدر من قبلهم.

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وَمَا كُنْزُ الْإِنْسَانِ إِلَّا بَشَرٌ مِّثْلُ بَشَرٍ. إِنَّ أَكْثَرَ النَّاسِ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ.

انف ان له من حكمه حكمه. انما من هذا من هذا. انما

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لَا تَنْتَهِجُ فِيهِ سَبِيلَ الْفِتْنَةِ. وَتَعْلَمُ أَنَّ الْفِتْنَةَ أَلَمٌ عَظِيمٌ.

280 مذهب، فذلك (fol. 11b) من كتابه في الفقه والحديث.

مذہب ہے؟ یہ وہی ہے جس کا نام ہے اسلام۔ یہی ہے جس کا نام ہے اسلام۔

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b مذهب و عرق حاصل.

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f. اسر قلدها و ده حصا. اخذ و بمقتضی حکم حضرت صاحب الامر علیه السلام.









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ܡܚܠܐܝܢ ܡܚܠܐܝܢ. ܡܚܠܐܝܢ ܡܚܠܐܝܢ. ܡܚܠܐܝܢ ܡܚܠܐܝܢ. ܡܚܠܐܝܢ ܡܚܠܐܝܢ.

ܡܚܠܐܝܢ ܡܚܠܐܝܢ. ܡܚܠܐܝܢ ܡܚܠܐܝܢ. ܡܚܠܐܝܢ ܡܚܠܐܝܢ. ܡܚܠܐܝܢ ܡܚܠܐܝܢ.

ܡܚܠܐܝܢ ܡܚܠܐܝܢ. ܡܚܠܐܝܢ ܡܚܠܐܝܢ. ܡܚܠܐܝܢ ܡܚܠܐܝܢ. ܡܚܠܐܝܢ ܡܚܠܐܝܢ.

a. ܡܚܠܐܝܢ.

b. ܡܚܠܐܝܢ ܡܚܠܐܝܢ ܡܚܠܐܝܢ ܡܚܠܐܝܢ.

c. ܡܚܠܐܝܢ.

d. ܡܚܠܐܝܢ ܡܚܠܐܝܢ.









505  
 Bekker 10b.  
 515

۸. حسن حسن اقبال صا المصدا حصا ۱۳۱۱ھ ۱۳۰۵ھ.

b. مختصر ۱۲۰.

[illegible]

امیر و محمد مصطفیٰ

၁။ သူ၏ နာမည်ကို မှတ်မိပါသလား။























675  
 680  
 685  
 Bekker 13a.  
 690

[illegible][illegible]





[illegible]

735  
 740  
 Bekker 14b. 745  
 a  
 b

a. مسموم في مخر. من: ١٥٠ في قه. ١. مقلع. ١. مضمنا حسمه. ١. م. .... ١١

لعل.

b. صخر.

750  
 755  
 760  
 765

750  
 755  
 760  
 765

750  
 755  
 760  
 765













## A CRITICAL COPY OF THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH WRITTEN IN A. D. 1232.

BY REV. W: SCOTT WATSON, A. M.,  
Towerhill (Guttenberg P. O.), N. J.

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I write to give the readers of *HEBRAICA* some account of a biblical codex which I had the good fortune to secure in Palestine and of which one of our leading Hebrew scholars, in a note to me, says, "In any future edition of the Samaritan Pentateuch it will be essential, provided its text is as accurate as its well assured age leads one to suppose." I will group my notes under the four general heads of History, Description, Critical Copy and Collation.

### I. HISTORY.

While in Jerusalem last year I heard of an old Samaritan book having been there offered for sale but I did not succeed in seeing it. A little later, on May 12, 1892, I was asked in Nablous whether I would like to buy a certain manuscript. From the description given of it I was led to believe that it was of considerable value. When I requested that it be shown, the man replied that he thought it was then in Jerusalem. Was I again to be disappointed? For months I had been tantalized at Sidon by a book said to be written on the skin of the gazelle of whose existence I heard more than once but of which I never got a sight. My questioner went in search of the owner and soon returned with him and his manuscript. He laid open the volume on his lap and there was revealed to my delighted gaze a literary treasure the equal of which I never had had a chance to purchase during all my sojourn in Syria. I took steps to secure it, acting in accordance with oriental business custom through a mediator, and after a delay, another oriental element in the transaction, it was delivered into my hands at Sidon the very day before I started on my homeward journey. The man from whom I bought it was a Moslem living in Nablous. The account he gave of the way it came into his possession was that he had purchased the effects of an aged Samaritan who had died not long before and among them had found this Book of the Law. The statement was corroborated by other inhabitants of Nablous; indeed, the deceased seemed to be a person well known in the town.

Page 1 bears the name in Arabic of "Ephraim, the son of Rizq, the Samaritan," who possessed it after the rebinding, but no date is given.

On the last page is a formal Arabic colophon which states that "Jacob, the son of Aaron, the son of Islameh[?], the son of Ghazal, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham, the Priest, the Levite," repaired the volume and supplied what had been lost from the beginning and the end, i. e., the present paper portion. A sentence in Samaritan characters worked into some of the ornamentation on the same page informs us that the work was done by "Jacob, the Priest, the Levite, in Shechem." Both of these are undated but are probably not older than the first part of this century.

We next come to three notes of ownership in the Samaritan dialect as well as character. They are found on the portion of a page which had been left blank at the end respectively of Numbers (p. 461), Exodus (p. 260), and Genesis (p. 136), and are as follows:

(a) קנה • זאת • התורה • הקדושה • במה • דהלו • לנפשו • סה ; טבה •  
 (2) וסמוכ • קה ; ואר ; קה ; ויק ; ואקר • טוב • וקר ; וצל ; (3) ועש • וכת ;  
 ויע ; וקנ • ישר ; ושמור • ארהותה • קדיש ; (4) ועשה • טבהתה • יוספ •  
 בנ • סהבה • טבה • וסמ ; קה ; ואר ; קה ; (5) ומסכינה • עבד • אלה •  
 דמבני • איקירה • מנ • פועה • ברת ; (6) סהבה • טבה • וסמ ; קה ; ואר ;  
 קה ; וקר ; וצל ; ומסכינה • עבד • (7) אלה • דמבני • רמח • והיא • מורשה •  
 לה • מנ • אבוה • הזוכר • (8) יסלח • לו • יה ; וישכנ • רוחו • בגנה • ומכרת • ונתנ •  
 לה • בידה • (9) כנחתה • חמשה • ועשרים • דנר • זהב • מצרי • ורצהיה •  
 ואסידת • (10) על • נפשה • אנ • לית • לה • בזאת • התורה • קשט • וכן •  
 בירח • אלמחרמ • (11) שנת • שמנה • וצ ; וט ; ק ; לממלכת • עשו • נדס •  
 וכן • אסיד • וכתב • צדקה • (12) בנ • יושע • בנ • מתוחיה • בנ • טביה • בנ •  
 אברהם • בנ • ברכה • הלוי • דמנ • (13) קרית • הכהנים • שרתי • המכת ;  
 הקרו ; במצ ; תהיה • בריכה • ומברכה • (14) עליו • וילמד • בה • בנימ •  
 ובני • בנימ • בעמל • דמע • הנאמאנמ ;—

(b) אתעתקת • זאת • התורה • הקדושה • מנ • ממלאכת • (2) סהבה •  
 טבה • וס ; קה ; וס ; קה ; וא ; טוב • וק ; וצ ; והס ; (3) וכן ; צדקה • בנ •  
 סה ; טב ; וס ; קה ; וא ; קה ; ומס ; (4) אברהם • בנ • סה ; טב ; וס ;  
 קה ; וא ; קה ; ומסכינ • עבד • יהובה • דמבני • איקרה • אל • ממלכת •  
 סה ; (6) וסמ ; קה ; ואר ; קה • וא ; טו ; וק ; וצ ; ו\* ; ו\* ; ושאר (?) •  
 (7) קד ; וי ; ומעב ; יוספ • בנ • סמ ; קה ; וצ ; אברהם • (8) בנ • סמ ; קה ;  
 ומ ; צדקה • דמבני • י\*ב\* • מנ • שכו • (9) עזה • בשלשה • עשר • דנר •  
 זהב • מצורים • [ \* \* \* \* (10) צדקה • הזכור • אנ • לית • לו • בזאת •  
 התורה • קשט • (11) תהינה • בריכה • על • בעלה • הז ; וילמד • [בה] •  
 בנימ • [וב] • (12) בנימ • וכן • בשנת • שבע • ועשרים • שנה • ותשע •  
 מואות • שונת • (13) [לממלכת • ישמעל • יו\*י • א\* \* \* \* \* וכן • אסיד • ע\* \* \* \*

(14) ר\*\*\* (or ב) מה וכתבו יעק\* בנ עבד אלה (15) \*\*\* מבי משב  
 ל\*\*\*; 1\*\*\*

(c) אתעתקת זאת התורה הקדושה מנ ממלכת תורין (2)  
 ואחותה מרחבה ילדי סמוכ קהלה וארכונ (3) קהלה וק; וצלה  
 ומסכינה עבד דנונה בנ (4) סמוכה ומסכינה אב גלוגד בנ אבי  
 רוממותה (5) דמבני איקרה והיא מורשה לונ מנ אביונ (6)  
 הזוכיר יסלח לו יה; אל ממלכות סמוכ קהלה (7) וארכונ  
 קהלה וקרא וצלה וחש; וכת; עבד יהוה (8) בנ סמוכה  
 ומסכינה עבד יהובה דמבני רמח (9) בארבע ושלשימ דנר  
 זהב מנ זהב מצרימי וכן (10) בחדש שואל שנת ז וששימי  
 ושמנה מאות (11) לממלכת בני ישמעל על יד עברה צדקה בנ  
 יושע (12) הלוי שמש המכתבים הקדושים אז במצרימי (13) הוריא  
 את יה; תהיה מברכה עליו אמנ אמנ (14) בעמל משה הנאמנ —

The three dates mentioned in these records (Maharrah, A. H. 998 in (a), A. H. 927 in (b) and Showal, A. H. 867 in (c)) correspond to A. D. 1589, A. D. 1521 and A. D. 1463.

Who was the scribe to whose labors we are indebted for this copy of the Law of Moses? The repairer's colophon says it is in the hand-writing of "Abraham, Judge of Israel," but gives neither the date nor the genealogical relation of that person. It was doubtful how much reliance could be placed on so recent a statement unsupported by other authority, but for a time I thought it was the most trustworthy information in regard to the writer that we would ever have.

While engaged in collating, I came across a cryptogram and that has been followed by the discovery of six others. Two of them bear on the question now before us. On p. 182, in the text of Ex. xv. 22-xvi. 3, we read, מכתב אברהם נסיאה "The writing of Abraham the Prince," and running through the first sixteen pages of Deuteronomy (pp. 462-477 inclusive) is the following:

אני אברהם בן ישראל בן אפרים בן יוסף הנשיא מלך ישראל  
 כתבתי את משנה התורה הקדושה הזאת לנפשי על שם בני שנת  
 תשע ועשרים ושיש מאות למלכות ישמעאל היא שנת שלשה אלפים  
 ומאתים למושב בני ישראל בארץ כנען היא שנת חמשה אלפים ותשע  
 מאות ושלשה ותשעים שנה ליצרת העולם והיא מלוי ארבעה

<sup>1</sup> The letters inclosed in brackets doubtless once stood in the text. Asterisks have been placed where there is no certain clew to what has disappeared, their number except in lines 9, 14 and 15 corresponding with the probable number of letters lost. In the rebinding of the volume the lower right part of this record beginning with a portion of line 13 was cut away. There was at least a sixteenth line of which only א. ה. is visible.

<sup>2</sup> The four middle letters of ושלשימ have been erased, changing the price from thirty-four to forty-four dinars.

ושבעים תורה כתבתי וימי שני ח"י בפעם ההוא ששים שנה אורה את  
יהוה ואשאל אתו יאריך בחייהם עד ילמדו בה בנים ובני בנים  
אמן אמן אמן

"I, Abraham, the son of Israel, the son of Ephraim, the son of Joseph, the Prince, King of Israel, wrote the copy of this holy Torah for myself in the name of my children in the year six hundred and twenty-nine of the kingdom of Ishmael, which [it] is the year three thousand and two hundred of the dwelling of the children of Israel in the land of Canaan and [it] the year five thousand and nine hundred and ninety-three of the formation of the world.<sup>1</sup>—And it is the completion of seventy-four Torahs<sup>2</sup> [which] I wrote and the days of the years of my life in the tread of it are sixty years; I praise Yhvh.—And I ask him to prolong their lives until children and children's children study in it. Amen. Amen. Amen." (The punctuation marks have been omitted from both transcriptions.)

I am well aware that cryptograms are rather in disrepute at present and that the very mention of one is apt to raise a smile. Those now under consideration are real and not a mere product of my imagination. The parchment was creased by folding to furnish a guide in the formation of two which are on the opposite sides of the same leaf (pp. 275, 276) and for three, including the longest given above, special lines were ruled. (In the case of two no special ruling was necessary because of lines on the other side of the leaf.) One cryptogram is circular, reading curiously from *left* to *right*, and the others are vertical. Where the latter occur, the pages present the appearance of three columns, two lateral of equal size separated by narrow spaces from a central one of single letters. Those letters, read from the top down, form the acrostics. Not a word has been added to the sacred text on their account, the end being attained simply by the arrangement of the writing on the page. Punctuation marks, however, have been inserted which have no meaning apart from them and one of which, because of that fact, led to my discovery. Thus it is evident that the scribe was fully aware of the existence of those statements and intentionally formed them.

It might be supposed that this manuscript was copied from another in which the chronogram already existed and that therefore the data given relate not to this document but to that of which it is a transcription. Such a thing, it is said, has happened in the case of colophons; here it has not. Old Abraham's very

<sup>1</sup> The number of years between the Creation and the Entrance into Canaan according to the data in the Samaritan Pentateuch and the direct statement of the Samaritan Chronicle or Book of Joshua (chap. xv.) is, as here, 2794. The Chronicle (chap. XLVII.) departs from the common Samaritan chronology in assigning A. M. 4513 as the date of the death of the Emperor Hadrian.

<sup>2</sup> I need scarcely point out that of all the copies of the Law produced by Samaritan scribes in the past centuries not nearly so many have survived to our time as Abraham himself wrote.



mistakes come forward to testify in his favor and to secure to him the credit of his work long after he has laid aside his pen. An examination of the erasures that are found in the volume shows that the writer in a large measure puzzled out or stumbled on his caligraphic arrangement as he went along. Perhaps the most striking instance is found on p. 230. Part of the sixth line of the paragraph (Ex. xxxi. 12-17) in which the circular cryptogram **אשר לאשר ישמר** (**קדשה**) occurs had been written when the suggestion of that device came; then the scribe erased all from the latter part of the first line and re-wrote it in a way to bring that out. (Sufficient traces of the first text remain to prove that it was the same as the present.) If this instance stood alone, it might be said that the writer had at this point changed his exemplar for one in which the conceit already existed. In four other places, three of them in connection with the long chronogram, changes have been made which the production of the cryptograms rendered necessary but which might have been avoided by a little more foresight. It would seem that nothing so pleased the Samaritan scribe as to be able to place one or more letters or words under similar letters in the preceding line. There are quite a number of places scattered throughout the book in which something has been erased and the same re-written where the reason for the alteration evidently was that immediately after the first writing it had occurred to Scribe Abraham that by making the change he could carry out further that dearly-loved caligraphic principle. Thus there is conclusive proof that this is not a fac simile copy of any other codex. (If the manuscript which the writer had before him during his work be still in existence, I may perhaps identify it through certain phenomena which possibly indicate the length of its lines and paragraphs and the position of some words on the page.)

Reverting to the longest cryptogram, we find the date of this codex given according to three eras. The one most useful to us at present is that referred to "the kingdom of Ishmael" or the Hegira. Remembering that, as the Moslems employ a lunar year of twelve months of alternately twenty-nine and thirty days with an intercalary day eleven times in thirty years, their years are to ours as  $354\frac{1}{3}$  to  $365\frac{1}{2}$ , and starting from July 16, A. D. 622, we see that the year 629 of the Hegira ended on, or about, Oct. 19, A. D. 1232. As the chronogram is now exactly as the writer of the volume left it, the possibility of later addition or subtraction being absolutely excluded, we may with entire confidence attribute this manuscript to the year A. D. 1232.

The oldest dated manuscript of the Samaritan Pentateuch mentioned by Blayney was written in A. H. 624 = A. D. 1227 and is in Rome. The next dated copy in point of age, not including mine, is that of the British Museum written in A. D. 1356, one hundred and twenty-four years after the one I am now describing. As the codex of A. D. 1227 begins with Gen. xxxiv. 22, the one in my possession is probably the oldest authority extant of a known date for about



thirty chapters of the Samaritan form of Genesis. (There are a few manuscripts of more or less of the Samaritan Pentateuch which are *supposed* to be older than the three mentioned. It is well known among scholars who have given this department of study special attention that Samaritan paleography is not in a state sufficiently advanced to admit of even the best qualified judges asserting with confidence the age of a document which bears no date.)

## II. DESCRIPTION.

The manuscript contains the Hebrew text, not the Targum or Version, of the Five Books of Moses in the form in which the Samaritans have them. It is bound in leather and consists of two leaves of paper + two hundred and sixty-nine leaves of parchment + four leaves of paper, a total of five hundred and fifty pages. The leaves are now about  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$  inches in size but were cut down somewhat in the rebinding. They are without numbers (except those added by myself), signatures and catch-words. Those of paper were supplied by the writer of the Arabic colophon but all of the parchment portion belonged to the volume whose origin is recorded in the chronogram: it is to the latter alone that I desire to be understood as referring in the notes which follow, unless I state otherwise. When Abraham finished the codex, I believe it contained two hundred and eighty leaves gathered into twenty-four quires of ten leaves each and five of eight each arranged thus: 20 of 10 + 1 of 8 + 3 of 10 + 2 of 8 + 1 of 10 + 2 of 8. Either the first two pages (the first leaf) bore none of the sacred text or some of that of Genesis now found only on paper was much spread out. As a rule a single sheet of parchment makes two leaves or four pages, but there are twenty-four half-sheets distributed through eleven of the quires. The sheets were so bound together that at every opening the eye rests on two pages of flesh-sides or two of hair-sides. Of all the gatherings the outside pages are hair-sides and, consequently, the middle pages are flesh-sides in groups of ten leaves and hair-sides in those of eight.

The old text covers a space about  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  inches on both sides of the leaf. It begins with 'אתה · עפר · יכ' of Gen. III. 19 and ends with 'לשמע · בקולו ·' of Deut. xxx. 20; between these limits, with the exception of one leaf lost from Genesis, scarcely a letter of the first scribe's work is past recovery, so fine a state of preservation is the manuscript in. There are from twenty-six to twenty-nine lines to the page, including the blank lines between paragraphs, but both the extremes are of rare occurrence. The large Samaritan character is used throughout except where for a special reason a letter or a word is written in a smaller hand. The ink is of a deep black generally laid on so thick that the letters have a somewhat glossy surface. It does not seem to have faded in the slightest merely from the lapse of the centuries where other extraneous causes of injury did not affect it, nor has it at all corroded the parchment, in both of which

respects it differs from that of some of the more recent writing found in the volume. Lines were made by pressure, never in ink, to guide the scribe in his work.

Of the cryptograms three have already been given. The other four are as follows: (a) יהוה נצוּעִי קרְבִּיָּה on p. 179 in Ex. xiv. 24-29 which is part of the two paragraphs xiv. 19-25 and 26-31; (b) חֲצִי הַתּוֹרָה on p. 275 in Lev. vii. 12-16, part of the paragraphs vii. 11-15 and 16-21; (c) פִּלְגָּה on p. 276 in Lev. vii. 18, 19, of the paragraph vii. 16-21; and (d) אֵהָן סֵפֶר תּוֹרָאתָה on p. 340 in Lev. xxvii. 18-25 of the paragraphs xxvii. 16-21 and 22-25. The two (b) and (c) are separated by the last three lines of p. 275 and the first line of p. 276 which are written in the ordinary manner. (I have omitted the punctuation marks in making these transcriptions.)

For poetry the text-space is divided into two equal columns but the lines read across the page regardless of the division. The passages which are so written are these: Ex. xv. 1-21; Num. xxiii. 7-10, 18-24; xxiv. 3-8, 15-25, and (in the paper portion) Deut. xxxii. 1-43. No distinction is made between the introductory formulae and the body of the poems. Gen. xlix. (parchment) and Deut. xxxiii. (paper) appear as ordinary prose.

Besides the places where the simplest order of disposing the letters has been departed from for ordinary caligraphic reasons or because of the cryptograms or the poetical portions we find a peculiar but similar arrangement in the upper part of p. 455 and of p. 457. In the body of the text a space has been left blank which may be described as a circular ring with four straight arms extending outwards one to each corner of the (imaginary) inclosing parallelogram. The passages directly affected are Num. xxxiv. 6-11 and xxxv. 5-8.

At the end of each of the five books are some simple ornamentation and also the following notes, all from the first hand, except, of course, that at the end of Deuteronomy from the repairer:

(a) At the end of Genesis,

סֵפֶר הָרְאִישׁוֹן      וּמְלִינִי כִּי־אֶלְפִינִי  
קִצְיִנִי רִי־וָנִי      וְרִי־וָחִי־נִי מְלִינִי  
וּכְתַבְיִנִי טִי־וָעִי      אֶלְפִינִי וְחֶקֶךְ־יִי

(b) At the end of Exodus,

סֵפֶר הַשְּׁנִי      וּמְלִינִי יִי־אֶלְפִינִי  
קִצְיִנִי רִי־וָנִי      וְרִי־וָלִי־מְלָה  
וּכְתַבְיִנִי טֹסִים      אֶלְפִינִי וְחֶקֶךְ־וָעִי

(c) At the end of Leviticus,

סֵפֶר הַשְּׁלִישִׁי      וּמְלִינִי יִי־אֶלְפִינִי  
קִצְיִנִי קֶךְ־וָלִי־וָחִי      וְשִׁי־וָלִי־מְלָה  
וּכְתַבְיִנִי וָמִי־אֶלְפִינִי וְחֶקֶךְ־וָנִי



A very common use of marks in Samaritan manuscripts is to call attention to the fact that a certain combination of letters is used in a particular one of two or more senses which it is capable of bearing, e. g., ש when a proper noun denoting Shem, the son of Noah, is marked but when the common noun "name" is not marked, and את, alone or in combination, when the preposition "with" may have a line over it but when the sign of the definite object is without any line (except in אתה, where it is lined to distinguish that word from the personal pronoun of similar form). Many of the lines and dots in my copy are explained by a knowledge of this usage. For words so distinguished the different manuscripts in very few, if any, instances give various readings.

There are a number of other lines and dots which cannot be explained on the principle just stated but which must be considered as true indications of alternate readings. Petermann, in his Samaritan Grammar ("Porta Linguarum Orientalium" series), says, "*Signa orthographica duo tantum apud Samaritanos reperiuntur: 1. Punctum litteris expungendis, quae per errorem scribae irrepererunt, superscribitur. 2. Linea diacritica, eaque plana (horizontalis) s. paullum obliqua litteris vocum praesertim mediis superposita, quae lectorem admoneat, ut animum bene attendat ad hanc vocem, quae notionem seu formam extraordinariam habet.*" (The first of the usages mentioned in this extract is found in the work of the repairer of my manuscript but not in that of Abraham.) In spite of the "duo tantum" I must add this third. A list of the places where it occurs will be found in the collation. A study of the facts there presented should of itself be sufficient to produce the conviction that we have before us indications of secondary readings.

These signs do not belong to the class already described. In the case of the words over which they are placed there generally did not exist the same need of a distinguishing mark that was present in the case of the words over which those are found. In striking contrast to the fact in regard to those, there is in the case of every one of these manuscript authority for various readings. (In a very few instances that authority must be sought in another passage which contains the same word.) Simple admonitory marks are always, as far as my experience goes, placed over some part of the word to which attention is called and never over the blank space between it and the preceding or the following word, as are some of the signs referred to in Table VII. of the collation.

When Scribe Abraham was desirous of changing what had come from his pen, he showed no hesitancy in erasing it, either by washing it out or by scratching it out with a sharp instrument. Many such erasures, most of them, however, due to a desire to change only the relative position of some letters on the page, can with certainty be attributed to him through the present text found where the original writing stood being from his hand. The expunging of letters from the words in Tables III., V. and VII. would often produce combinations which



would not be Hebrew. When in the three classes just mentioned the mark is over the space between two letters or two words, the reader sees clearly where the additional letter of the secondary reading belongs but such a position would not with equal certainty show what to omit. Nor have we before us the correction of accidental omissions. A letter which had fallen out through some mischance might have been subsequently inserted either in its proper place in the line or interlinearly. That interlineation was not objectionable in the eyes of the writer is shown by his resorting to it in not a few places and we can see no reason why, if necessary, he should not have doubled or quadrupled the number. What effect would follow the insertion of letters in the words of Tables IV. and VI.? We would fare no better were we to attempt to interpret these signs as calling for the substitution of what properly belongs in the text for something that has erroneously crept in. They are not the marks of a corrector who compared the manuscript after its completion with some standard copy. They were made at the same time as the letters as is shown by their being in the same ink and hand and by the unusual space left blank in connection with some. It is evident that they and the readings which they indicate were in the mind of the scribe at the first writing.

As an instructive illustration of deliberate variety let us look at the name *Zurishaddai*. In Num. vii. 36 it ends in a ' and in x. 19 in a ך, with no mark over the word in either place, but in i. 6 we find a final ך and in ii. 12 and vii. 41 a final ', all three with a dot over them. Evidently *Zurishaddai* might in the writer's view be properly spelled either with a final ך or with a final '. He knew of authority for both forms in some of these passages; he has written at length the one that in his judgment was the better supported and has indicated the other.



# DAS HEBRÄISCHE NEUE TESTAMENT VON FRANZ DELITZSCH.

VON REV. DR. GUSTAF DALMAN.

Leipzig.

Da die von der 'London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews' im Jahr 1817 veröffentlichte und später öfters revidierte hebr. Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments in sprachlicher Beziehung an Korrectheit vieles zu wünschen übrig liess, hatte Franz Delitzsch schon 1838 in "Wissenschaft, Kunst, Judenthum" zu einer neuen Übersetzung aufgefordert. Aber erst im Jahr 1864 war das Werk wirklich in Gang gekommen, wie aus einem Aufrufe Delitzsch's in seiner Zeitschrift "Saat auf Hoffnung," Weihnachten 1864, hervorgeht. Schon im Juni 1865 war die Übersetzung vom Matthäus, Jacobus- und Hebräerbrief und Apokalypse vorläufig vollendet (S. a. H., III. 1, 61). Erst im Sommer 1870 erschien aber als erste Probe die Übersetzung des Römerbriefes mit rabbinischem Kommentar unter Beigabe einer Kritik der bisherigen Leistungen und von Erklärungen über die bei dem neuen Unternehmen zu Grunde gelegten Principien. Gleichzeitig kündigte Delitzsch an, (S. a. H., VIII. 75), dass er Neigung habe, nun den Matthäus zu "bearbeiten," d. h. entgiltig zu redigieren. Im Mai 1874 konnte er mitteilen (S. a. H., XI. 129), dass die Übersetzung des ganzen Neuen Testaments druckfertig vorliege. Einige jüdische Freunde Delitzsch's, welche durch die Munificenz der Gesellschaften für Judenmission in Baiern und Norwegen für ihre Bemühungen entschädigt werden konnten, hatten durch Einsendung von Übersetzungsvorschlägen zu diesem Werke wichtige Beiträge geliefert. Nach mehrfachen vergeblichen Bemühungen bei verschiedenen Verlegern gelang es endlich im Sommer 1875 die British and Foreign Bible Society zur Übernahme des Verlages zu gewinnen, sodass im September 1875 der Satz beginnen konnte (S. a. H., XIV. 80 ff.). Im Frühjahr 1877 war das Werk vollendet (S. a. H., XIV. 242 ff.). Indes begann damit nur die neue schwierige Arbeit der Revision und Selbstkritik. Männer wie Prof. Levy in Breslau, Prof. Kaufmann in Budapest, Prof. Kautzsch in Basel, Dr. Biesenthal in Leipzig, besonders aber Missionar Händler in Krakau machten Verbesserungsvorschläge. Delitzsch selbst war zu der Überzeugung gekommen, dass der von ihm ursprünglich der Übersetzung zu Grunde gelegte Text des Sinai-Codex sich für diesen Zweck nicht eigne und hatte sich entschlossen, dem Wunsche der Bibelgesellschaft entsprechend den Textus receptus zu adoptieren und nur die wichtigsten Abweichungen des Sinai-Codex von demselben in Klammern beizufügen (S. a. H., XV. 222 ff.). Im Spätherbst 1878 erschien die auf dieser neuen

Grundlage beruhende zweite Auflage (S. a. H., XVI. 55 ff.), im Februar 1880 die dritte (S. a. H., VII. 166 f.), im Herbst 1881 die vierte (S. a. H., XVIII. 201 f.), bei der Dr. Baer in Biebrich und Prof. Driver in Oxford wichtige Dienste leisteten. Der Text dieser vierten Ausgabe wurde electrotypiert und ist dann in den Ausgaben von 1883, 1885, 1886, 1888, 1889 mit nur unbedeutenden Veränderungen wiederholt worden. In einer englisch abgefassten Schrift "The Hebrew New Testament," Leipzig 1883, hatte Delitzsch eine Reihe notwendiger Verbesserungen aufgeführt, welche indes nur teilweise in die stereotypierte Ausgabe Aufnahme fanden, aber voll berücksichtigt wurden bei der neu gesetzten Ausgabe in Octavo vom Jahr 1885, welche also bis zu der soeben erschienenen 11ten Auflage die fortgeschrittenste Textgestalt darstellt. Seit jener Zeit hatte Delitzsch sich besonders in Folge der Verbesserungsvorschläge der jüdischen Gelehrten J. Kahan und J. Lichtenstein in Leipzig, A. B. Ehrlich in New York von der Notwendigkeit einer durchgreifenden Umarbeitung seines Werkes überzeugt. Trotz zunehmender Körperschwäche vollzog er deshalb eine erneute Revision, so umfänglich, dass er den jetzt entstehenden Text als eine neue Übersetzung bezeichnen konnte. Die Durcharbeitung des ganzen Neuen Testaments war vorläufig vollendet, als eine Lähmung den 76jährigen Greis nötigte, die Feder aus der Hand zu legen und die Vollendung des Werkes jüngeren Händen anzuvertrauen. In den ersten Tagen des Februar 1890 übergab er die Arbeit dem Verfasser dieses Aufsatzes, der seit fast 20 Jahren durch gemeinsames Interesse für die Evangelisierung der Juden ihm verbunden war, hoffte aber, sie noch selbst bis zur Vollendung überwachen zu können. Indess Gott der Herr holte den müden Streiter heim, nachdem nur der erste Halbbogen dem Sterbenden hatte in die Hand gegeben werden können. Die Durchsicht dieses Halbbogens war die letzte Arbeit, die dem greisen Freunde hienieden vergönnt war, an dem Werke, das ihn 25 Jahre lang\* fast ununterbrochen beschäftigt hatte.

Die mir als Herausgeber erwachsende Arbeit, bei der ich dem Wunsche Delitzsch's entsprechend von dem jüdischen Gelehrten J. Kahan unterstützt wurde, bestand 1) in der Vollendung der Revision der Übersetzung auf Grund des von Delitzsch gesammelten Materials mit möglichst genauer Anpassung an die ihn leitenden Principien, 2) in der Herstellung einer Vorlage für den Neudruck, und 3) in der Überwachung des Druckes. Anfang August 1891 war das Werk vollendet, im Februar 1892 konnte die neue elfte Auflage gebunden an die Öffentlichkeit treten.

Der der neuen Auflage zu Grunde gelegte *Text* unterscheidet sich dadurch vom Text der früheren Ausgaben, dass der Textus receptus im Princip aufgegeben wurde und die wichtigsten besseren Lesarten der alten Codices im Text selbst Aufnahme fanden, während die minderwertigen Lesarten des Receptus, wenn sie Zusätze zum ursprünglichen Text darstellten, in Klammern im Texte blieben, da-

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\* Die nach Delitzschs Tod erschienene Schrift "Eine Uebersetzungsarbeit von 52 Jahren," welche einige früher schon gedruckte Äußerungen von Delitzsch über sein hebr. Neues Testament mitteilt, rechnet übertreibend von 1838 an, obwohl zwischen 1838 und 1864 die Arbeit ruhte.

gegen, wenn sie eigentliche Varianten desselben waren, als Noten an den Fuss der Seite gestellt wurden. Dadurch wurde geringere Störung des Lesers durch im Text stehende *alternative readings* erzielt. Prof. Delitzsch hatte eine durchgreifende Revision des Textes in dieser Richtung für notwendig erklärt und mir übertragen, dieselbe wurde aber durch das Veto der Bibelgesellschaft verhindert. Leider fehlt deshalb dem gegenwärtigen Text in dieser Beziehung volle Einheitlichkeit. Im wesentlichen ist es nur der bisher schon in den Ausgaben vorhandene kritische Apparat, den ich revidiert und nach den soeben mitgeteilten Principien umgestaltet habe. An dieser Stelle bemerke ich, dass ich die Überschrift der Apocalypse, aus welcher Delitzsch gerade in der letzten von ihm besorgten Ausgabe des hebr. Neuen Testaments den Namen des Johannes gestrichen hatte, in seiner handschriftlich bezeugten Urgestalt wiederhergestellt habe. Da der sel. Delitzsch durch seine Änderung nur den scheinbaren Widerspruch zwischen der Überschrift und dem Anfang des Buches (Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) beseitigen wollte, zweifle ich nicht, dass er bei erneuter Überlegung mir zugestimmt haben würde. Beigabe von *sachlichen* Noten, welche Missverständnissen bei jüdischen Lesern vorbeugen sollten, hatte Delitzsch eine Zeitlang geplant, aber in seiner letzten Bemerkung über die Herstellung der neuen Auflage (S. a. H., XXVII. 74), welche erst nach seinem Tode erschien, aufgegeben.

Für die *Orthographie* des Hebräischen galten mir die Ausgaben des Alttestamentlichen Textes von Baer als massgebend. Manche Wortgestalt, besonders in bezug auf Plene- und Defectiv-Schreibung der Vocale, ist nur zufällig. Doch sollte das Auge des vom Alten Testament herkommenden Lesers nicht durch ungewohnte Schreibung verletzt werden. Der Cholempunkt wurde allenthalben an die ihm bei װ und ן zukommende Stelle gesetzt. Ich bemerke leider, dass ich Matth. I. 21 eine falsche Stellung derselben bei ן übersehen habe. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit forderte die Dagessierung der כַּף־בֶּרֶךְ nach trennenden Accenten und die Pausaldehnung in der Mitte des Verses, welche nach der Correctur des Textes aufs neue durchzuführen waren. Es mag zweifelhaft scheinen, ob eine derartige Durchführung der Gesetze der Accentuation—ohne Schreibung der Accentzeichen—berechtigt sei. Aber weder schien es geraten, Dagessierung am Anfange eines Wortes nur nach vorangehendem Konsonanten anzuwenden und auf Sinnabschnitte keine Rücksicht zu nehmen, noch auch, wenn einmal die Dagessierung weiter ausgedehnt werden sollte, vom Gebrauch des Alten Testaments abzuweichen.

Der weitaus schwierigste Teil meiner Aufgabe lag selbstverständlich auf dem Gebiete der *Sprache*. Delitzsch hatte es als sein Princip bezeichnet, den Text so wiederzugeben, wie die neutestamentlichen Schriftsteller ihn hebräisch gedacht haben und hebräisch geschrieben haben würden. Aber selbst wenn man zugeben wollte—was dem Schreiber dieses nicht möglich ist—dass ein Teil der neutestamentlichen Schriftsteller wirklich hebräisch und nicht aramäisch gedacht hat, so bliebe es doch ein Ding der Unmöglichkeit, festzustellen, wie das zur Zeit Jesu und der Apostel geschriebene Hebräisch im Einzelnen beschaffen war. Was Mar-



goliouth in "The Expositor" 1890 über die Sprache des Sirachbuches, Ryle und James in *Ψαλμοὶ Σαλομῶντος* 1891 über das Original der Salomopsalmen, Resch in "Agrapha, Ausserkanonische Evangelienfragmente" 1889 über ein hebräisches Urevangelium beibringen, ist keineswegs völlig zuverlässig und würde selbst dann nicht genügen, ein wirkliches Bild des in jener Zeit geschriebenen Hebräisch zu geben. So bleiben uns als nächststehende Zeugen nur das Danielbuch und die Mischna, die doch selbst drei bis vier Jahrhunderte auseinanderliegen. Delitzsch hat nun gesucht, nach eigenem Ermessen aus dem Hebräischen aller Perioden seiner Geschichte bis zum Abschlusse der Mischna einen Dialekt zu bilden, welcher sich eigne, das Gefäss der neutestamentlichen Gedankenwelt zu werden. Er schien in letzter Zeit gefühlt zu haben, dass eine grössere Einheitlichkeit des sprachlichen Charakters der Übersetzung wünschenswert und dass gerade das Neuhebräische der Mischna und des älteren Midrasch das Idiom sei, welchem die neutestamentliche Schreibweise am nächsten stehe. In dieser Richtung bewegte sich deshalb vorwiegend seine Umarbeitung der Übersetzung, ohne dass doch die ursprüngliche mehr althebräisch gefasste Grundlage völlig verwischt worden wäre. Diese sprachliche Zwittergestalt der Übersetzung, in Folge deren ältestes und neuestes oft hart nebeneinander stehn, erschwerte, wie sich begreifen lässt, dem Herausgeber seine Aufgabe nicht wenig. Doch wird zugegeben werden können, dass das von Delitzsch mit grossem Taktgefühl durchgeführte sprachliche Compromiss vielleicht der einzig mögliche Ausweg aus einem schwierigen Dilemma war. Dass die neutestamentliche Offenbarung in alttestamentlichen Hebräisch sich nicht treu wiedergeben lässt, ist eine durch das für klassisches Hebräisch ausgegebene hebräische Neue Testament Salkinsons nur zu deutlich bewiesene Thatsache. Andererseits konnte ein heiliges Buch, die Vollendung der alttestamentlichen Offenbarung, aus Schicklichkeitsgründen nicht in das Gewand des rabbinischen Idioms gekleidet werden, denn nicht mit Talmud und Midrasch, sondern mit dem Alten Testament bildet es ein Ganzes. So kam es zu jener den Sprachgelehrten störenden Zusammenarbeitung verschiedener Idiome.

Aber noch in einer anderen Beziehung war ein Compromiss zu schliessen. Das hebr. Neue Testament sollte nicht den Juden den talmudischer Zeit, sondern der Gegenwart Christum verkündigen. Das von den Juden unserer Zeit geschriebene Hebräisch ist aber für gewöhnlich von Germanismen ganz durchsetzt, und gerade dann, wenn es klassisch sein will, ist es ein so willkürliches Gemisch von alttestamentlichen Phrasen, denen meist ein ihnen fremder Sinn untergelegt wird, dass es sich wohl zu einem Tummelfeld für Geist und Witz eignen mag, aber weder den Linguisten, noch den nüchternen einfachen Leser befriedigt. Dem im modernen Hebräisch sich kundgebenden schlechten Geschmack vieler Juden, über welchen seit S. O. Luzzatto schon manche einsichtsvolle Männer aus ihrer eigenen Mitte bittere Klage geführt haben, durften sicherlich keine Koncessionen gemacht werden. Aber doch durfte das hebr. Neue Testament nichts enthalten, was vom jüdischen Leser der Neuzeit entweder gar nicht oder falsch verstanden worden



wäre. Dahin gehörten insbesondere eine grosse Zahl von Ausdrücken, welche ein zur Zeit der Apostel hebräisch schreibender Schriftsteller als griechische Fremdwörter stehen gelassen hätte. Wir erfahren aus Targum, Midrasch und Talmud, dass das Hebräische für viele in nachbiblischer Zeit in den Gesichtskreis der Juden tretende Dinge keine eigenen Ausdrücke gebildet hatte, ja dass sogar zuweilen Fremdwörter sich für Dinge einbürgerten, welche längst einen entsprechenden hebräischen Ausdruck besaßen. Die "Volksmenge" war auch in hebräischer Sprache *δχλος*, die "Familie" *γένος*, das "Zeichen" *σημείον*, der "Preis" *τιμή*, das "Geschenk" *δῶρον*, das "Thor" *πύλη*, das "Frühmal" *ἀριστον*. Griechisch benannte man fast alles, was dem Gerichts- und Verwaltungswesen angehörte. Wir nennen Ausdrücke wie *συνέδριον* "Gerichtshof," *κατήγωρ* "Ankläger," *παράκλητος* "Anwalt," *ἀντίδικος* "Widersacher," *καταδική* "Verurteilung," *διαθήκη* "Testament," *ὥνή* "Kauf," dann *νόμος* "Gesetz," *ἀρχή* "Regierung," *βουλή* "Rat," *βουλευτής* "Ratsherr," *ἐπίτροπος* "Verwalter," *ἀνθύπατος* "Proconsul," *στρατηγός* "Feldherr," *στρατιώτης* "Soldat," *σπεῖρα* "Kohorte." Da den heutigen Juden die genaue Bedeutung jener ihnen zwar nicht völlig fremden Fremdwörter meist unbekannt ist, waren für alles dies einigermaßen entsprechende hebräische Ausdrücke zu wählen. Die Kohorte wurde *נִדְרָר*, der Ratsherr *יועץ*, *Ζεύς*, dessen Namen die ganze rabbinische Litteratur geflissentlich zu nennen vermeidet, sogar zu *בַּל*, da *זֵוס*, welches der spätgriechischen Aussprache entsprochen hätte den Juden eben so unverständlich geblieben wäre wie etwa ein lateinisches *יופיטר*.

Für den Druck der neuen Auflage, welche 469 Seiten in kleinem Octavformat zählt, wurden von der berühmten Officin von W. Drugulin in Leipzig neue Lettern nach jüdischen Mustern, die zu diesem Zweck aus Russland beschafft worden waren, hergestellt. Diesen Lettern wurden zum ersten Mal die Vocale angegossen und dadurch der sonst unvermeidlichen Beschädigung vieler Typen während des Druckprocesses wirksam vorgebeugt. Leider waren die zu den Überschriften benutzten Typen nicht von dieser Gattung, wodurch es sich erklärt, dass die Presse hier an einigen Stellen recht ärgerlichen Schaden anrichtete. In dem von mir dem Neuen Testamente vorangeschickten Vorwort an den Leser habe ich darauf aufmerksam gemacht.

Eine praktischen Zwecken dienende Übersetzung heiliger Schrift, wenn sie nicht zur Paraphrase werden soll, bleibt immer etwas Unvollkommenes. Es war nun einmal nicht Zufall, sondern göttliche Fügung, dass die vollendete Offenbarung in Christo nicht aramäisch, auch nicht hebräisch, sondern griechisch unter die Völker hinaustrat, und es ist auch nicht Zufall, sondern Folge des von Israel über sich heraufbeschworenen Gerichts, dass das Wort des erfüllten Neuen Bundes nicht als hebräisches Original, sondern als Übersetzung aus dem Griechischen nun zu ihm wieder zurückkehrt. Möchte aber diese neue Anbietung des Heils in hebräischer Zunge, durch welche Christus zum zweiten Male als *γενόμενος ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυείδ κατὰ σάρκα* unter sein Volk tritt, ihm nicht aufs neue zum Gericht, sondern zum Heile ausschlagen!

An den Schluss setze ich eine Übersicht über alle bisher ausgegangenen Ausgaben von Delitzsch's Hebräischen Neuen Testament nach 'The Eighty-seventh Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society' (1891) S. 440.

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Total, 49,230 copies.

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\* Diese Ausgabe war ursprünglich gar nicht numeriert, wurde aber nachträglich als achte Ausgabe hinter der Ausgabe von 1886 eingeschaltet.

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